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EDITOR

Dr T A PURUSHOTTAM, M A , Ph D (Lond)
Director, Oriental Research Institute

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SRI GAYATRI SAHASRANAMA—A STUDY

BY

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Sri gayatri Sahasranama is a part of Devibhagavata Purana¹ It was recited by Narayana² to Narada at the express request of the latter³ After learning about the principal position of Gayatri,⁴ Narada further solicited Narayana to reveal that knowledge of the Ultimate Reality which could pave the way for salvation by conquering death⁵ In response Narayana recited the present Stotra to him

Sri gayatri Sahasranama has 165 verses The first two are simply introductory⁶ In the next 1 1/2 verses, Narada makes his request for the ultimate knowledge⁷ The Stotra itself covers 152 1/2 verses.⁸ The last 10 verses describe the efficacy of the recitation of this piece⁹

There is one peculiarity in this Stotra Unlike Visnusahasranama¹⁰ or Sivasahasranama¹¹ which simply give the epithets of these deities without any order, the present Stotra arranges them in an alphabetical order. This speciality gives a rare poetic beauty to this piece This also vouches for the literary skill of its composer whose name is unfortunately, like all the composers of the Puranic poetry, lost to us because tradition ascribes all the Puranas to Vedavyasa only

NB —All the citations from Gayatri Sahasranama (Devī Bhagavata BK XII Ch 6) are quoted in verses only, *e g*, verse 1, 3, 9, etc

1 Devī Bhagavata, Bk XII ch 6

2 cf verse 4

3 cf verses 1—4

4 Devī Bhagavata, Bk XII Chs 1—5

5 cf verses 2—3

6 verses 1—2

7. verses 3—3 1/2

8 verses 3 1/2—155

9 verses 156—65

10 cf MBH Anusasana ch 146

11. cf MBH Santi. ch 17

Time of Sri Gayatrī Sahasranama.—

As the evolution of the 'īlas' (ī e, the exploits) of Sakti is not yet studied and the chronology of the various steps of this evolution yet remains to be fixed, one will have to depend upon the following clues only for the determination of this Stotra —

- (a) The epithets applicable to the description of Siva,
- (b) The association of Siva's phallus with the symbol of the female-part,
- (c) The story of Ramayana, and
- (d) The list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu

(a) *The epithets applicable to the description of Siva —*

That Siva was by that time conceived as "blue-necked" is clear from the word "Nīlakanthasamasraya"¹² Similarly, the hermaphrodite form of Siva, ī e, half-male and half-female, is also referred to by the word "Sankaradhasarīṇi"¹³ The epithet "Candracuda"¹⁴ proves the presence of crescent in the forelocks of Siva. As pointed out by me elsewhere, the crescent and Siva came to be associated with each other by the middle of Gupta period, ī e, in V cent. A.D.¹⁵ So the upper time-limit of this composition cannot be pushed earlier than V cen A.D. Tandi's Sivasahasranama Stotra of III cent. A.D.¹⁶ refers only to the "blue neck"¹⁷ and hermaphrodite character¹⁸ of Siva but not to the crescent in his hair. So the time of the piece in hand should be definitely later than III cent A.D.

(b) *Association of Siva's Phallus with the Female-part —*

Tandi's Sivasahasranama mentions only the phallus¹⁹ and the sexual potency of Siva²⁰ The association of Siva's generative organ with any female generative organ had not by then taken place. In other words, even though by III cent A.D. Siva's phallus and come to be emphasised, it was not by then conceived in conjunction with the female organ. In the present Stotra we find the word "lingadharīṇi"²¹ ī e, "the bearer of the phallus". Had it been "linga-viharīṇi," we would have taken it to mean the union of phallus with the female-part in sexual action. The present word simply refers to the physical association but not the sexual union of these two generative organs. In Mahabharata we find Siva being described as one whose emblem bears

12 verse 81

13 verse 146

14 verse 49

15 Tiwari "Indian Iconography and Mythology" (Anand, 1957), pp 17—8

16 Tiwari "Tandi Sivasahasranama" (Poona Orientalist XXIV/3&4, pp 147to49

17 MBH Anusasana 17/41

18 *Ibid*, 17/138

19 cf MBH Anusasana 17/40, 46, 47

20 cf *Ibid*, 17/70

21 verse 138

the mark of the female-organ on its person²² The pillar-like lingams in Dasavatara²³ and Kailasa Temple,²⁴ Ellora, with vertically elliptical marks on them, possibly, represent this variety of lingams The time of these monuments, according to me, falls in II and III quarters of III cen A D. respectively²⁵ The sexual union of Sivalingam with the female part came not earlier than cir VI cen A D²⁶ So the epithet 'linga dharini' suggests III A D. to VI cen A D, as the time of Srīgayatrisahasranama However, the presence of the word "Candracuda" rules out the time of its composition earlier than V cen A D So the time of this piece should be fixed somewhere in V cent. A D only

(c) *The Story of Ramayana* —

There are two epithets which point to the specific exploits of Rama, viz., "Ravanacchedakarini"²⁷ (i e, "the slicer of Ravana" and "Valmiki-parisevita"²⁸ (i e, "one who was served by Valmiki") The latter one points to the exile of Sita and her stay in the hermitage of Valmiki when this saint had the privilege of serving her This event is to be found in Uttarakanda. I have suggested elsewhere that Uttarakanda of Valmiki Ramayana was added to it in cir end of IV or the beginning of V cen A D²⁹ So the time of this composition, from the point of view of the evolution of the story of Ramayana, falls in cir V cen A D (more correctly, after the beginning of V cen. A D.).

(d) *List of the Ten-incarnations of Visnu* —

In this Stotra we come across several epithets which describe the exploits of Rama and Kṛṣṇa The reference to Nṛsimha³⁰ and Varaha³¹ points to the Nṛsimha and Varaha forms of Visnu The epithet "Kamandaludhara"³² suggests Vamana incarnation, who begged three-steps length of earth from Bālī in the disguise of a short-statured celibate measuring fifty-two figure-widths The word "Renuka,"³³ the mother of Parasurama, might or might not suggest the inclusion of her son in the list of the ten-incarnations of Visnu The words "Bodhidrumanyavasa"³⁴ (i e, "one, who stays in a Pipala tree" does not suggest to me the inclusion of Buddha in this list. Matsya, Kaccha

22 MBH Anusasana 14/227

23 Dasavatara Eastern verandah, from right to left, relief No 2

24 Kailasa Eastern verandah, from left to right, relief No 6

25 Tiwari "Indian Iconography and Mythology," p 19

26 *Ibid*, p 13

27 verse 137

28 verse 144

29 (a) Tiwari "The Time of Uttarakanda (BK VII Valmiki Ramayana) (Journal of Oriental Research Institute, Baroda IV/2&3, pp 149—56)

30 verse 83

31 verse 140

32 verse 35

33 verse 133

34 verse 116

and Kalki are not mentioned at all. Thus, we find Kṛiṣṇa, Varaha, Vamana, Nṛsiṃha, Rama and, possibly, Parasurama in this list. Parasurama was included in the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu about the end of IV cen A.D.³⁴ By that time Matsya, Kaccha, Buddha and Kalki were not included in this list, only the above-mentioned six were there. So if we exclude Parasurama from this list, the time of this piece will have to be fixed before the end of IV cen A.D. (i.e., the period of the inclusion of Parasurama in this list). But this clashes with the time suggested by the epithets Valmiki-parisevita, Candracuda and lingadharini, which suggest its V cen origin. By the beginning of V cen A.D. Parasurama was included in this list. In that case, the time of this piece should be fixed in the era when Parasurama was included in this list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu. In that case the time of this piece should be fixed within the period after the inclusion of Parasurama but before the inclusion of Matsya i.e., between the end of IV cen A.D. to the end of the first-half of V cen. A.D.³⁵ If the word "Bodhidrumanyavasa" were to be accepted as referring to Buddha, the time of this piece will be fixed in the sixth cen A.D. And in that case, the word "lingadharini" will have to be taken in the sense of referring to the sexual union of the male and female generative organs. Any way, the time of this piece cannot be fixed earlier to V cen A.D. Its lower limit can be extended upto the second half of VI cen A.D. However, V cen A.D. (by excluding Buddha from the list of the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu as given in this list) appears to me to be more scientific than stretching it to the later date. The reason being, had Buddha been included in this list, Matsya, Kaccha and Kalki would have been certainly referred to, as seen elsewhere.³⁶ The absence of Matsya, Kaccha and Kalki is to me a dependable clue to exclude Buddha from this list.

Analysis of the epithets

The epithets used in this stotra can be broadly classified under the following headings

(NB —The numbers in brackets indicate the serial number of the epithet in the stotra)

(1) Those which refer to the vedas viz., Rgveda (90) Rgvedanilaya (97), Yajusī (841, Somasambhava (973)

(2) Those which refer to the Vedic deities, viz., Adityapadaṁcara (40); Pusa (654), etc.,

(3) Those which refer to Sacrifices, viz., Agneyī (46), Kundanilaya (162), Tilahomapriya (414), Balipriya (690), Yajnarupini (842), Raktabalipriya (868) etc., So she is called Rinaharitī (91), Jvala (341), Jvalanti (344), Nanajyotiḥ Samakhyata (521)

35 Tiwari "Viṣṇusahasranama—A Mythological Study" (Journal of Vikram University, II/4, p. 136)

36 (a) Tiwari "Chronological clues from the Exploits (Ilās) of Kṛiṣṇa (proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 23rd Session, Aligarh, 1960)

(4) Those which refer to Mantra, Metie and Tantra, viz, Grnmantiammayi (238), Chandah Parichaeda (301), Chandonustap Pratisthanta (305),

Damaratantiarmargastha (369), Tantri (383, 419), etc, That is why she is called Damarā (365), Tamasā (437), Parasaktih (651)

(5) *Learning & Ignorance*

Avidya (22), Gnanadhatumayi (248), Nityagnana (376), Vidya (898) etc ,

(6) *Script & Letters*

Akaradiksakaranta (16), Aīdhamatīa (30), Pancamatratinika (659), Bhasa (759), Sadbhāsa (962), Hlinkaī (996), etc ,

(7) *Those which can be explained in the light of Vedantic Philosophy*

Acintyalaksana (1), Avyakta (2), Nūakara (519), Sarvavasa (974), etc ,

(8) *Those which can be explained in the light of Yoga and Yoga Philosophy*
Adharanilaya (51), Idapingalarupini (55), Kundali (133), Citśvarupa (290), Pasupasavinirmukta (584), Muladhāsthita (820), Yogasana (826), etc ,

(9) *Those vague and general epithets which can be applied to all deities with reference to their power, position etc ,*

(a) Position

Apara (12), Gurvi (220), Jyestha (346), Vandita (897), etc

(b) Function

Kīpavati (160), Gunadayini (224), Garvapaharini (228), Taraka (417), etc ,

(c) Might

Ajita (6), Aparajita (7), Dharadhara (479), Bhayaharini (736), Bhīma (769), Mahavira (814), etc ,

(d) Nature

Amīta (4), Kalyani (129), Tamasā (388), Dharmasīla (482), etc ,

(e) Liberality

Arthadanada (31), Istada (59), Dhanada (480), Rajyada (857), etc ,

(f) Uniqueness

Eka (104), Guhya (222), Goptanya (223), etc ,

(10) *Those epithets which refer to Time*

(a) Time

Kalārupini (138), Vela (921)

(b) Seasons

Rituprada (96), Saditupriya (963) That is why she is also called Jalada (345), Nilajmutanisvana (532), Meghamalini (790), Vaisa (903)

(c) Months

Madhusambhuta (876)

(d) Fortnights

Amavasya (34), Kuhu (178), Purnima (557)

(d) Days

Dharmada (234), Prakasini (561) That is why she is also called Chaya (300) and Chayadevi (302)

(e) Nights

Udumati (78), Tamasadini (401), Nisisvari (536), Yamini (843), Sarvarivandhya (961) That is why she is also called Candrika (267) and Divaratri (452), i.e., the union of day and night The epithets for moon, i.e., Udupa (79), Candrama (292) are also found here

(f) Dawn & Twilight

Usa (74), Trisandhya (405)

On account of her association with Time, she is called Yugadharini (833)

(11) *Epithets indicative of Directions and Earth*

(a) Directions

Uvanta (148)

(b) Earth

Govindacaranakranta (209), Gotra (213), Dhanyadohini (481), Dhrti (485), Prthvi (660), Mukundapadavikrama (819), Vasudohini (923), Ksama (1000), etc.,

(c) Mountains

Girisa (214), Jvalamukhi (336), Nrpanagavibhusita (515), etc.,

(d) Rivers

Naadi (380), Nadrupa (534), Bahudaka (704) She is also called by the specific names of some of the sacred rivers, viz.,

Iravati (62), Kausiki (143), Kalindi (153), Ganga (198), Gomati (201), Gotami (205), Gokarnanilayasakta (232), Narmada (498), Narayanapadodbhava (517), Phalgu (675), Bhogavati (754), Yamuna (832), Viraja (902), Suryatanaya (991), etc.,

(e) Place names

Kanci (155), Bhogavati (754) She is also called Puravasini (586)

(f) Pilgrim-Places

Tirtha (415) She is also called for that reason Yatra (837)

(g) Sea-fire

Aurva (113), Badava (685)

(h) Roads

Devariti (451) That is why she is also called Pathika (661)

(i) Miscellaneous

Citra (254, 288)

(12) *Epithets describing Flora and Fauna*

Fruits —

Phalini (973)

Flowers —

Kartaki (167), Tulasitarunatai (384), Nalini (499), Bhrgulata (750) She is also called Saragha (990)

Aquatic animals —

Timungilagula (398)

Birds —

Khecarī (189), Cakori (265), Balakini (701)

Animals —

Kesari (151), Goda (229), Dohini (446), Dhenu (474), Sarabha (952), Harini (995)

Snakes —

Kudhara (184)

Insects —

Jhunjhika (352)

(13) *Epithets indicative of Bodily Functions, Diseases & Medicines*

Bodily functions —

Ghrana (242), Cesta (287), Codayatri (294), Jagrti (342), Jambhana (349), Jambha (350), Nidra (495), Nimesini (533), Pitakriya (642)

Diseases —

Jvaradevata (343) That is why she is called Rogesi (874)

Medicines —

Lutarivarasambhuta (100), Lutadivisaharini (101), Ausadhi (110), Ausadhasampanna (114), Jvaraghni (338), Pusta (605), Pustida (618), Rogasamani (876), Luptavisa (889), Varuni (909) She is also called Bhisagvara (756)

Miscellaneous —

Medha (809)

(14) *Those epithets which are applicable to any female*

Epithets for girls —

Balabala (680), Bala (729), Mahakanya (797)

Epithets for damsels —

Kumari (161), Lalita (894), Suddha (954) She is also called Lajja (892).

Epithets applicable to beautiful and lustful lady —

Ritumati (88), Kamini (123), Punyapraja (666), Bijarupini (709), Bhogini (745, 757), Ramani (847), Ratupriya (855), Vilasini (905), etc ,

Epithets applicable to a mother —

Janani (312), Prasava (617), Mata (772), etc ,

Epithets applicable to a householderess —

Purandhri (585), Pativrata (591), Bandhavi (691), Mahadevi (777), Mahabhaga (778), Subhacara (939), etc ,

(b) *Epithets which describe the person of goddess Gayatri*

Hair —

Urdhvakesi (82), Trijata (424), Dhumakesi (491), Pancasikha (657), Sukesi (992)

Ears —

Bahukarnavatamsika (707)

Face —

Aravindanibhanana (29), Indurupini (65), Urvarukaphalanana (76), Pundarikasamanana (608), Rakesi (861), Subhanana (951)

Eyes (type) —

Aravindanibheksana (23), Indivaranibheksana (61), Nimagnaraktanayana (544), Pundarikaniibesana (565); Padmaks (644), Bhujangaksi (738), Minalocana (780)

- Eyes (Number) —
 Trilocana (393), Bahunetia (705)
 Teeth —
 Carudanta (257)
 Tongue —
 Kalajihva (135), Jihva (329)
 Speech —
 Ritam (86), Kokilalapa (166), Cancadvagvadini (272), Ksarava (444),
 Dundubhivana (454), Piyabhasini (583) Pancavani (623), Manjubhasini
 (804), Madhuhadiavini (805)
 Laughter —
 Ayatanana (39), Caihasini (254, 266), Candrahasa (263), Puspahasa-
 parayana (593), Puspahasa (636)
 Neck —
 Kalakanthini (126), Nilagriva (535)
 Shoulders —
 Brhatskandha (716)
 Hands —
 Caturbhujā (256), Chinnanakha (303), Yabhujā (357), Prthubhujā (610),
 Bahubahuyuta (708)
 Breasts —
 Karikumbhastanabhara (127), Cakravakastani (286), Tankaniyamahorasa
 (362), Parvatastanamandala (597), Payasvini (597), Sustani (976)
 Heart —
 Subhasaya (947)
 Stomach —
 Prthudari (612, 637), Pallavodari (672), Lambodari (893), Satodari (938)
 Waist —
 Carumadya (277)
 Thighs —
 Prthujangha (609)
 Feet —
 Tripada (382), Padasahita (581), Prthupada (611), Bahupada (706)
 Movements —
 Kalahamsagati (172), Kampira (176), Gamini (206), Ghurna (245), Catula
 (252), Carugati (278), Jhanjhamarutavegini (354), Turiyapadagamini (386),
 Tura (390), Tivra (399), Nirvyuhoparicarini (547), Pracapala (616), Vada-
 vanalavegini (730), Lola (884, 888)
 Size —
 Kharva (188)
 (2) *Epithets describing the colour of her body*
 Black —
 Anjanadripratikasa (18), Kalika (137, 154), Krsna (180), Tamalakusuma-
 krti (416), Marakatasyama (810), Mahasyama (815)

Blue —

Indranilasamakara (68), Tilabhusa (422), Nila (500)

White —

Udunibha (75), Uduprabha (77), Kanta (124), Kanti (140), Tusarabha (410), Subhra (946), Saradajyotsana (950), Somasamhati (993)

Gold —

Taptakancanasankasa (429), Navajambunudaprikhya (540), Hiranyavarna (944)

Yellow —

Kapila (181), Pitangi (638)

Fire-coloured —

Tarunadityasankasa (387), Dipta (460), Paratejah (560), Parajyoti (627), Pavakadyutih (633), Bhargatmika (762) Mihirabhasa (818)

Coral —

Pravalasobha (613, 669)

Red —

Balabhanuprabhakara (694), Sona (944)

(c) *Epithets which describe the form of the goddess*

Young —

Ajara (10), Kamasundari (21), Kuruvindadalakara (132), Khanditajara (195), Candrarupini (280), Tarunakrti (280), Digvimohini (462), Bahurupini (710), Brindaraka (715), Vanita (721), Rama (859), Rupasampanna (862), Sobhavati (941), Srimati (957)

Old —

Jara (332), Purani (601)

Pose —

Tribhanga (441), Pesala (571), Pancangi (650), Phalakakrti (677)

Tenderness —

Tanuvallari (442), Pavitrangi (592), Lalita (885), Sivakara (942)

Deformity —

Karalasya (136), Danavakrti (469), Bhisanakara (742), Raudra priyakara (853)

(d) *Epithets which describe the food and drinks of the goddess*

Food —

Navanitapriya (530), Pavanasina (572), Pancabhaksapriyacara (646), Bhogini (758), Masrnapriya (783) Because of her fondness for meat and wine she is called Madhumamsa (783).

Drinks —

Panapriya (656), Madhumati (774, 782), Madhujihva (775), Madhupriya (776), Madhudrava (784).

(e) *Epithets which describe the dress of the goddess —*

Naked —

Digvasa (461)

Clothes —

Aksasutradhara (14), Citrivastranta (261), Pitavasa (615), Pitavasana (639), Balatapanibhamsuka (682), Raktamalyambaradhara (864), Ratnavastraparicchanna (880), Ksaumavastraparitangi (998)

Snakes as clothes —

Bhujangavalaya (768)

Skin —

Rurucarmaparidhana (871)

Ocean as cloth —

Sagarambara (977)

(f) *Epithets which describe the ornaments & adornments of the goddess*

Ears —

Kundalavati (130), Candramah Karnakundala (262), Jvalanmanikyakundala (351).

Neck —

Kadambakusumapriya (152), Kusumapriya (168), Citramalyavibhusita (255), Taraharavalipriya (413), Patali (664), Mahini (779), Raktamalyambaradhara (864), Ratnamalika (873)

Arms —

Pattipasadhara (598)

Hands —

Kumudvati (142), Padmapriya (576)

Toes —

Nupurakrantacarana (542), Manjumanjiracarana (802)

Metal of her ornaments —

Taptakancanabhusana (430), Rukmabhusana (882)

Other adornments —

Forehead —

Kasturitolaka (175), Khandendutitaka (197), Candradhatrī (268), Candravati (291).

Paste of her person —

Karpuralepana (179), Carcita (250), Carucandanaliptangi (275), Candanapriya (293), Mandarakusumarcita (801), Raktagandhanulepana (865)

Hair —

Candracuda (273)

Her love of flowers —

Panjatakusumapriya (590), Puspagandhini (665), Bandhukakusumapriya (694)

(g) *Epithets which describe the weapons conveyance & seat of the goddess*

Iksukodandasamyukta (66), Khadgaketakara (87), Khatavangadharini (191), Gadadhara (231), Cakrabhuka (283), Churika (310), Dhakkahasta (374), Dandini (464), Dhanurdhara (474), Sulini (953)

Armour —

Brddhagodhangulitrana (713), Varmadhara (931)

Conveyance —

Animals —

Karipriya (149), Karindragamana (177), Mahisarudha (824)

Birds —

Kiravahana (164), Khagavahana (190), Rajahamsasamarudha (866), Sukavahana (956)

Mechanically driven conveyance —

Yanavidhanajna (838)

Chariot —

Rathini (872), Rathastha (881)

Seat of the goddess —

Asanasthita (58), Kumudalaya (134), Padmasansthita (577), Baddhapadmasanasina (723), Yogasana (826), Ratnasimhasanasthita (863); Varijasansamsthita (908)

Umbrella —

Chatrayata (298), Chatradhara (299), Phanindramandalamandita (879)

(h) *Epithets which describe the goddess's love of music*

Ganalolupa (204), Ghanta (236), Ghantaravapirya (241), Jhananirghosa (353), Jhallurivadyakusala (355), Damad damarunadini (370); Dindiravasa (371), Dhakkahasta (374), Talapratapini (408), Tittiri (425).

(i) *Epithets indicative of the residence of the goddess*

Sea —

Arnavamadhyastha (5)

Solar or lunar region —

Arkamandalasamsthita (9), Akasantanivasini (53), Adityamandalagata (56), Udumadhya (80), Rismandalacarini (92), Candramandalamadhyastha (284), Tivistapa (404), Diva (458), Divisada (467), Vyomamadhyastha (907), Vayumandalamadhyastha (913), Vaikunthanilaya (928),

Saptarsimandalagata (981), Somamandalavasini (981), Sarvottunga (986)

Mountains —

Anjanadrinivasini (19), Kutastha (183), Tuhinacalavasini (411), Duravasa (456), Malaya (808)

Brahma's mouth —

Ajamukhavasa (28), Admurtinivasini (45)

The heart of the people —

Ota (111), Kuhasrasraya (182); Guhavasa (217), Bilavati (688); Bilavasa (703), Bharatasaya (740)

The whole universe —

Otaprotanivasini (112). That is why she is also called Andamadyasthitadevi (116)

In everything existing —

Bhutavasa (749).

Trees —

Puspakandasthita (653); Bilvapatrasthita (724), Bodhidrumanijavasa (725).

Pilgrim-places —

Punyatirthanisevita (649)

Specific regions —

Karavira suvasini (128), Kuruksetranivasini (131), Kamarupa (159); Kaikeyi (165), Gandhari (203), Dandakaranyanilaya (463), Naimisaranyavasini (529), Badaryasramavasini (714), Mithilapuravasini (787), Maithili (793), Magadhi (811), Manipurakavasini (822)

Agni-kunda —

Kundanilaya (162)

Garden —

Nandanodyananilaya (546)

Fruits —

Punnagavanamadyastha (648)

Splendid buildings —

Bhavanastha (755)

City —

Amari (47)

Epithets which can be explained in the light of tantra philosophy.

Deities born out of Durga —

Indira (58), Indrakshi (70), Kalaratri (119), Kamala (125), Kamada (125), Durga (449), Mahamari (813), Lakshmi (887) Sakambhari (933)

Deities included among ten-mahavidyas —

Kamala (122), Kali (170), Chhinn (309), Tripura (395), Dhumavati (490), Bhuvaneshvari (667)

Synonyms of Sarasvati —

Ghrtaci (246), Bharati (739), Vyasapriya (930), Sarada (936), Hamsavahini (997), Sarasvati (972, 1004)

Synonyms of Savitri —

Savitri (972, 1002)

Synonyms of Gayatri —

Vedagarbha (1001), Vararooha (1006), Srighayatri (1007)

Union of Sarasvati, Gayatri and Savitri —

Trisakti (394)

Names of some specific deities —

Kamakshi (120), Candika (279), Jvala (321), Jayanti (322), Tripura (395), Trisna (426), Pancika (555, 624), Bherunda (770), Vinita (906)

Female hobgoblins —

Gandharvi (211), Dhakini (366), Pisacini (641), Mahisarudha (824)

Miscellaneous —

Dropadi (453), Devayani (455), Dharmarajapriya (485), Bhargavi (751), Mandodari (791), Rati (841), Rohini (856), Rambha (867)

Deities included among Nava-Durga

Andri —

Indrani (64), Airavatarudha (107), Karindragamana (177), Mahendri (799), Vajrani (922), Vasavi (926)

Kaumari —

Kaumari (146)

Candika —

Candika (253, 671)

Nrsimhani —

Nrsimhani (513)

Brahmi —

Khagavahana (190), Brahmi (696), Vidhipriya (915), Savitri (1002)

Parvati —

Uma (73), Girija (225), Parvati (548), Bhavani (733, 760), Merutanaya (800), Raudri (852), Vamadevapriya (920), Siva (934), Sarvani (960), Parambika (1008)

Varahi —

Varahi (901)

Vaisnavi —

Karipriya (149), Khagarajopaniṣṭhita (193), Garudadvajavallabha (227), Padmasanṣṭha (577), Padmasambhava (579), Mukundapadaṣṭhita (819), Varalakṣmi (904), Viṣṇupriya (914), Viṣṇupatni (916), Viṣṇumatī (917), Śrīdharananda (958), Kṣīrabdhātvanaya (999)

Sivaduti —

Nisumbhaghni (538), Sumbhasuravimardini (940)

Epithets describing the Devi as Maya

Paramaya (629), Maya (773), Mahamaya (792)

Epithets describing the Devi as some specific Tantric Deity

Alakṣmīghnāntyajārṇvī (35), Adilakṣmi (36), Adisakti (37), Acara (44), Adya (48), Kātyāyanī (118), Kalarupini (138), Bhadrakālī (737), Bhairavī (741), Mahalakṣmi (795), Mahakālī (796), Siddhī (979)

Exploits of the Deity

Dundumaraikāṇṇṛjita (398), Durgasurānibāhīnī (450), Nisumbhaghni (538), Madhukairābhāsamhārī (788), Mahāsurasamardini (825), Yaksarajaprasutini (836), Sumbhasuravimardini (940)

Miscellaneous —

Tristāni (406), Trisāṅkupaṇṇavarita (420), Prajñavāṇīśvārī (594), Vamajānani (927)

Association of the Deity with Siva

Nilakanthasamasraya (501), Siva (934), Sankarardhasamini (943), Sarvani (960)

Association of the male and female parts —

Lingadharini (886)

Association with Ganesa and Kartikeya —

Dhūndhivighnesajānani (373), Sanmukhapriyākārini (965)

Epithets indicative of the incarnations of Viṣṇu

Epithets which refer to the ten-incarnations of Viṣṇu —

vedavisarada (484), Nilajumutaniravana (532), Nirdhatasamanisvana (545), Pisacaghnī (643), Phutkarī (676), Banapatini (718), Bahuvikrama (722), Badistha (726), Bhisanavati (734), Bhurivikrama (748), Yuddhamadhyastha (831), Yatudhanabhayankarī (845), Sirah Sandhanakarini (947), Saravati (948), Sarananda (949)

Followers —

Dhulivraja (375)

Deity whom all worship —

Adityaparisēvita (41), Aradhya (49), Ista (60), Rīsīdevanamaskrīta (89), Kesavanuta (151), Kalasodbhavasamstuta (156), Ganesaguhapujita (199), Gandharvapsarasevita (208), Tankarakarini-devī (363), Tumburustuta (438), Devapujita (465), Devavandya (466), Nrnuta (496), Nagalokadhīdevata (541), Bandidevī (687), Brhaspatistuta (698), Bahunuta (720), Bhusurarcita (752), Bhajaniya (765), Manustuta (816), Vandita (897), Sadangarupasumatisurasuranamaskrīta (966)

Conclusion:—

The following mythological conclusions emerge from the analysis of above epithets —

- (a) that though Śiva was conceived as a blue-necked, three-eyed and crescent-adorned deity, his symbol was not yet conceived as the male privates in *sexual-union* with the female generative organ
- (b) that the physical *proximity* between the male and female-generative organs had been envisaged and the male-privates in this context had been understood in the sense of the phallus-symbol of Śiva
- (c) that though the story of nowadays included in Uttarakanda of Rāmāyana was evolved, there is no clue to suggest the emergence of Lava Kusakanda wherein both these royal brothers fought back successfully the forces of Ayodhya. So one may suggest that the inclusion of the Lava-Kusakanda in Rāmāyana belongs to a period later than V cen A D
- (d) that the references to baby-Kṛṣṇa and warrior-Kṛṣṇa suggest the union of these two personalities into one. Viṣṇusahasranama also refer to such a union and its time has been suggested by me to be cir. V cen A D. Possibly, these two concepts of baby-Kṛṣṇa and warrior-Kṛṣṇa co-existed before the time of this piece. However, nothing can be said for certain on the strength of the clues under study except that before III cen A D, the worship of Balagovinda was current and that of grown-up Kṛṣṇa is referred to in Stotras attributable to V cen A D⁸⁷

- (e) Visnu was regarded as one who slept on Śeṣanaga in the ocean of milk
- (f) Brahman was held as 'lotus-born' and 'lotus-seated'
- (g) The absence of any reference to Kaccha incarnations of Visnu clearly suggests that the blue-neckedness of Śiva originally did not have anything to do with the story of Amṛta-manthana (churning of the ocean) in which Visnu participated as a tortoise to support the sinking Mandaracala which was used as churning-rod. On the other hand, it was believed that the transformed hair of Sukracarya darted by him at Śiva when the latter was engaged in annihilating the inhabitants of Tīpura, bit at Śiva's neck as snakes and turned it blue³⁸. It was also once believed that the blueness of Śiva's neck was the effect of Viṣṇu's effort to strangle Śiva when the former went to save Dakṣa's sacrifice from destruction at the hands of Śiva in person.

38 Hari Vamsa 3/32/48 See also M B H Santi. 341/26.

Buddhist Contribution to Sanskrit Literature

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Siddhartha , the prince of the Sakya race, got enlightenment while attempting to get a solution for removing the ills of humanity. Then he came to be known as Buddha and the religion which he founded came to be known as Buddhism. Really speaking, he did not find any new religion. He simply instructed and guided the people in the path of righteousness. This he did with the powers of reasoning without depending upon any scriptural authority. During his life-time, he had a very huge following of disciples consisting of scholars and laymen. He did not leave behind him any written record of his teachings. His immediate pupil Ananda too left only an oral tradition of the Buddha's teachings. Soon after the death of the Buddha, it is said that what he preached was committed to writing. Thrice were held the councils of monks in order to maintain the integrity of the system and to give authenticity to the preachings of the system current on those occasions. Nevertheless, schisms arose among the followers resulting in the rise of many schools.

The Buddha, it is held, preached in Prakṛta, though he was well-versed in Sanskrit. In all probability, even the scholarly followers of his, though trained in Sanskrit learning, must have followed the master, in the choice of the language for their preaching and also for recording the doctrines. It is widely understood that the Buddha preached only the Hinayana mode of his principles. Prakṛta, therefore, appears to have been preferred to Sanskrit for writing.

Subsequently, from about the beginning of the Christian era, Sanskrit came to be used at first by the Hinayanists and later by the Mahayanists. The former used Sanskrit for the verses and a mixed Sanskrit for prose. The latter, on the other hand, chose to use Sanskrit only. Yet, a study of their literature reveals that their Sanskrit writings are not free from the influence of the Prakṛta language. Legends, mythology, poems, dramas, stotras, panegyrics, logic and philosophy are the subjects dealt with by the Mahayanists. Unluckily for us, much of the original works written in Sanskrit is lost, having been rendered into Tibetan and Chinese by the zealous scholars who spread the religion in Tibet and China.

Why did the Buddhists at first adopt Prakṛta for writing? What made them take to Sanskrit subsequently? The answer is not difficult to seek.

1 Paper read in the Seminar on Buddhism conducted by the Sri Venkateswara University College in 1960

In the course of the progress they made in spreading their religion, the Buddhist scholars had to face much opposition from the Hindu fold. They had to devise means for safeguarding their religion from their rivals. Participation in debates with the Hindus and the task of maintaining their religion intact must have been made possible only by adopting Sanskrit which was professed by their opponents. Phenomenal success was achieved through the untiring efforts of scholars, most of whom were Brahmmins by birth, education and attainments, before they embraced Buddhism. When they got converted into the Buddhistic faith, they were in a better position than others to use Sanskrit, for attacking the Hindu religion, conversant as they were with the Hindu literature. Asvaghosa, Nagarjuna, Dinnaga, Dharmakṛti and others deserve mention in this connection.

According to Vinitadeva (700 A D), the Sarvastivadins used Sanskrit, Mahasanghikas Prakṛta, Sammatiyas Apabrahmsa and Sthaviravadins (Theravadins) Paisaci. Nalanda and Taxila were the centres of learning where Sanskrit was taught. The Chinese pilgrims are reported to have studied Sanskrit for understanding the Buddhist religion.

The canons of the Hinayana, which were written in Sanskrit, are all lost except for some fragments of the Pratimokṣasūtra and Vinayapitaka recently discovered in central Asia. Quotations from them are contained in the Mahāvastu, Divyavadana, Lalitavistara and other texts and also in the renderings of them in Tibetan and Chinese. Among the Sarvastivada texts, which are said to be seven in number, the principal work is Jñānaprasthānaśāstra of Kātyāyana-putra. The Mahāvastu belongs to the old school of the Hinayana. It deals in three sections with the Buddha's life. The narration is interrupted by other matters like the Jātaka, Avadāna etc. The tales have no systematic arrangement and are written in mixed Sanskrit. It contains a Buddhānusthiti exalting Buddha worship, modelled on the stotras of the Hindu deities.

It was King Kaniska, who flourished in the first century A D, that held a council attended by five hundred monks. Under his patronage and under the guidance of Parsava and Vasumitra, were composed the Sūtra upadeśa, Vinayavibhāṣa and Abhidharmavibhāṣa explaining in Sanskrit the Pālī Tripiṭakas. Of these, the last mentioned work is a commentary on the Jñānaprasthānaśāstra. These were the earliest canons of the Mahayana school.

There are nine important works in Sanskrit belonging to the Mahayana school. They were composed at different periods and were available about the beginning of the Christian era. They are called by the name Vaipulya-sūtra. Among them, the Saddharmapundarika composed in verse is a valuable text glorifying the Buddha. The title means that like the lotus, which rises from the mud and is not defiled but stands as a symbol of purity, Buddha, who was born in the world, lives above the world and is not tainted by the worldly impurities. The Buddha is born to save people. He pretends to enter

nirvana and returns to the world again and again to preach his doctrines. His mercy enables others to become Buddhas. Influence of Kṛṣṇa and Bhagavad-gītā can be traced here. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara arose out of the grace of the Buddha. His work is to bring salvation nearer to all beings. When he is praised, calamities like shipwreck are averted.

The Lalitavistara is the most sacred text included among these Mahayana works. In twenty-seven chapters, Buddha's life is recounted. The Buddha is depicted as a divine being. He is surrounded by many monks and bodhisattvas. When he is meditating, gods come down and bow to him requesting him to grant them salvation. The Buddha declaims those who do not believe in his miraculous birth. The narration abounds in the marvellous occurrences. When the Buddha was taken to the temple, the gods rose and fell at his feet. When he was taken to the school, the teacher fell down in a swoon unable to bear his lustre.

Among these other texts, the Lankāvatārasūtra teaches the Vijnānavāda which is a modification of the Sunyavāda. How Buddhahood could be attained is dealt with in the Samādhirāja. Philosophical and ethical are the contents of the Sūvānaprabhāsa. The Gandavyūha, which deals with the nihilistic doctrines, contains Bhadracaripranidhānagāthā which are verses in Dōdhakā metre on pious life. The ten stages by which one becomes Buddha are told in the Daśabhūmīśāstra. The Prajñāparamitas, which are of the nature of philosophical inquiry, denote the highest perfections regarding nihilism in the matter of charity, moral conduct, patience, energy, meditation and wisdom. In these texts, the Buddha converses with one of his pupils Subhūti, while in others, he talks to a Bodhisattva. The Sanskrit texts of these are many of varying extent called by the titles Astasahasīkaparamita, Satasahasrikāparamita and others. They were commented by later scholars like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga and others. All these are now preserved in Tibetan and Chinese versions.

Apart from these works are available in fragments the Parinirvānasūtra on the nirvana of the Buddha. Likewise, fragmentary collections are available for forty-nine sūtras written with occasional Prakṛtism and called by the collective name Ratnakūṭa.

Deification of the Buddha, which began to characterise the Mahayana school, became responsible for the writing of the Āgamas, Purāṇas and codes of conduct. The Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama and others glorify the religion. The Svayambhūpurāṇa, which belongs to a period after the 16th century, contains an account of the holy places in Nepal. The Dīrghāgama, written in mixed Sanskrit, contains long sermons. The Buddhāvamsa is replete with Buddhāworship. The Cāriyapitaka deals with the code of right conduct. On the origin of festivals and rites, there are works like Vratāvadānamālā.

The impact of the Hindu religious practices, particularly Sāivism and Tantras, gave rise to Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna, the two branches of the

Mahayana The former attaches importance to words and syllables which are considered to be the means of salvation. The *Tathagataguhyaka*, *Manjusrikalpa* and other texts represent this branch. The latter believes in *vajra* which is hard and indestructible, immanent in all beings, standing for *Sunya* and *Vijnana*. As a result of the rise of the *Mantrayana*, there came to be formulated magic and protective spells called *dharanis* to avert evil. The *Ratnolkadharani*, *Aparimitayuhstoti* and others deal with these. The worship of *dhyana* buddhas and numerous forms of *Tara* are contained in the Tantric works like *Adikarmapradipa*, *Sadhanamala* and others. The *Jnanasiddhi* and *Advayasiddhi*, dealing with this matter, were written respectively by *Indrabhuti* (700 A.D.) and his sister *Lakshmimkara*.

Apart from these books written in Sanskrit on the theoretical and practical sides of the Buddhist religion, there is available in Sanskrit a mass of literature dealing with the altruistic virtues which are upheld as essential for practice. Some are dealing with the *avadana* which stands in the Buddhist literature for a religious or moral feat in the form of sacrificing one's life for a noble cause. The collections of tales detailing these feats are of varying lengths. The *Avadanasataka*, which belongs to the *Hinayana* school, consists of tales narrated by the Buddha himself in one of his former births. It contains no trace of the *Bodhisattva* cult. The *Divyavadana* is Mahayanistic in tone. It contains quotations from the *Dirghagama* and other texts. Probably it was influenced in its composition by the *Sarvastivada* school. Poetical versions such as the *Ratnavadanamala* are derived from the *Avadanasatakas*.

Of similar import but gnomic in spirit are the *jataka* stories which are in prose with interspersed verses. The *Jatakamala* of *Aryasura* of the 4th century A.D., belongs to this kind. This illustrates the perfections of a *bodhisattva*. It is more artistic than artificial and is free from the exaggerations of the Mahayana stories. The *Sutralamkara* bears a likeness to the *Jatakas* and *Avadanas* in substance. This work, which is also known by the other name *Kalpanamanditaka*, is the work of *Kumarakata* of the 4th century A.D., but for long, was ascribed wrongly to the authorship of *Asvaghosa*.

The contribution of the Buddhists to classical Sanskrit literature is substantial and valuable, though not as extensive as to the field of religion. The earliest classical writer was the poet and philosopher *Asvaghosa*. From the colophons of his two poems, it is known that he was the son of *Suvarnaksī*, a resident of *Saketa* and had the titles *Bhadanta*, *Bhiksu*, *Acarya*, *Mahakavi* and *Vagmin*. It is held that he acquired the name *Asvaghosa* by making the horses leave the fodder and listen to his discourses on Buddhism with listful eyes. By birth, he was a Brahmin well-versed in the Hindu lore. It is said that he was converted by *Vasumitra*. No other Buddhist poet and philosopher was so deeply acquainted, like *Asvaghosa*, with the Hindu doctrines. The Chinese records mention him as a Mahayanist, as one of the founders of the Mahayana and a protege of King *Kaniska*. Diverse views are held

by the scholars regarding his faith. According to some, he was a follower of the Hinayana, belonging to the subsect of Bahusrutika. Others make him a follower of the Sarvastivada school. An Indian tradition makes him the third in the descending line of Buddhist teachers from Parsva and the third in the ascending one from Nagarjuna. Some however hold that there were three Asvaghosas viz, (1) author of the Mahayanasutralankarasastra (2) a bhiksu, a Hinayanist and (3) author of the Mahayanasraddhotpada-sastra.

It was his enthusiasm aroused as a result of his conversion into a new faith that made Asvaghosa burn with zeal and compose poems to propagate the new religion by making innumerable references to the Hindu literature for purposes of elucidation and also for upholding Buddhism. His *Buddhacarita* is a mahakavya in twenty-eight cantos on the life of the Buddha, the theme of it having been taken from the Mahaparinirvanasutra. He avoids making reference to the supernatural incidents that are invariably found associated with the stories of the Buddha as in the *Lalitavistara*. The love for the marvellous is absent here. Yet he believed in some of the extraordinary occurrences in the life of the Buddha. The Buddha, soon after his birth, walked seven steps and proclaimed that he was born to do good to the world.¹ When the Buddha set out of the palace with an intention to stay in the forest, the gods made the doors of the palace flung open.² The author states, at the end of the poem, his aim in writing the poem as follows — It was to honour the great master, to follow his system, and to provide happiness to men and not for exhibiting his scholarship or poetic ability.³ The poem has come down in 13 cantos with four more by one Amritananda of the last century. It has been recently edited in two parts, the first part comprising the Sanskrit text and Hindi translation for cantos I to XIII and the second part containing for cantos XIV to XXVIII the Hindi version of the Chinese rendering of the original poem.⁴

The other poem *Saundarananda* in eighteen cantos deals with the conversion of Nanda, half-brother of the Buddha, by the Buddha himself. A younger queen of Suddhodana gave birth to a boy named Nanda who came to be called by the word *Sundara* prefixed to it owing to his handsomeness. The Buddha's intention was to wean Nanda from material happiness. Nanda, however, would not submit himself to the dictates of the master, forsaking his love for his charming spouse *Sundari*. The Buddha had to take great pains to convince Nanda of the transitory nature of the earthly beauty.

Asvaghosa is the author of a drama in nine acts called *Sariputraprakarana* also known by the name *Saradvatiputraprakarana*. It depicts how the Buddha

1 *Buddhacarita* I 14, 15

2 *Buddhacarita* V 66

3 „ XXVIII 74

4 The work is edited by Sri Suryanarayana Chowdhary

converted Saṃputra and Maudgalyayana into the Buddhist faith. The author reveals his acquaintance with the rules of dramaturgy. The play is available only in fragments. Along with the Ms of this play were discovered two other plays in fragments. One of them is allegorical in character and the other deals with the conversion of the voluptuary Somadatta into the Buddhist faith. They two might have been produced by Asvaghosa but evidence for this is lacking.

The Gandistotragatha is a lyric by Asvaghosa. It contains twenty-nine stanzas in the Śrāgdhara metre. It is a monastery song supposed to be conveyed when a long piece of wood is struck by a short club. The Tibetan sources make Asvaghosa an authority on music on the strength of this lyric.

The language of Asvaghosa is rough and lacks the polish and grace of that of Kālidāsa. However, his works contain passages which are noteworthy for the fine sentiment and expression. With abundant irony, Asvaghosa shows the transitory nature of the worldly life. The following bear testimony to this —

1 The objects of sense are the means for removing the sufferings of people and are not (intended) for enjoyment ¹

2 There is no such thing as a wrong time for dharma, as life here is uncertain ²

3 Bashfulness is an ornament, is a good garment and is a goad for those who have swerved from the right path ³

4 The season that had passed returns, moon appears again having waned but water in the river and youthfulness of men once passed do not return at all ⁴

5 People have faith in the body which is as weak as the bank of the river. ⁵

6 He is ever asleep, as it were, who is not intelligent ⁶

7 He is ever mad, as it were, who is devoid of courage ⁷

Towards the end of the Buddhacarita, the poet refers to the greatness of King Asoka. He removed the bones of the Buddha deposited in seven stupas at Rāmapura and deposited them in more than eighty stupas. He could not get the bones from the eighth stupa which was under the protection

1 दु खप्रतीकारनिमित्तभूतास्तस्मात्प्रजानां विषया न भोगा । Buddhacarita XI 39

2 अकालो नास्ति धर्मस्य जीविते चञ्चले सति । VI 21

3 Buddhacarita XXVI—45

4 ऋतुर्व्यतीतं परिवर्तते पुन क्षयं प्रयात पुनरेति चन्द्रमा ।

गतं गतं नैव तु सन्निवर्तते जलं नदीनाञ्च नृणाञ्च यौवनम् ॥ *Saundarananda* OX 28

5 Saṃputraprakaraṇa नदीकूलदुर्बले शरीरे विस्त्रम्भ ।

6 „ नित्यं स सुप्त इव यस्य न बुद्धिरस्ति ।

7 „ नित्यं समस्त इव यो धृतिविप्रहीण ।

of the Nagas By doing his duty as a king and by looking upon his own passions as the enemies, he was a saint without the robes of a saint and realised the good results of being pure in heart ⁴

His poems contain obscure allusions² Influence of the Bhagavadgita is found on the poet ³ The Mahayana traditions could be traced in his poems ⁴ Inspite of being a puritan, the author depicts the sensuous life in the descriptions ⁵

Asvaghosa does not appear to have been familiar with the doctrines of the later Buddhists such as Ksanabhangavada, atomic system, santana etc Nor is there any reference in his works to the Vaisesikas, Mimamsakas and Vedantins The author was however acquainted with the systems of medicine, politics, magic and others He was familiar with the Samkhya system⁶ as given in the Mahabharata Some of his expressions are foreign to Sanskrit e.g., kanva, lositah etc He displays his knowledge of grammar

Matrceta, the Kashmirian poet of the 1st century A D, is the author of eleven works according to Tibetan sources Among them eight are stotras such as Tirratnamangalastotra His poems Catuhsatakastotra and Catuhpancasatikastotra reveal his religious spirit When he was invited by King Kaniska to visit his court, he simply sent to the king his reply in 85 verses called Maharajakanikalekha asking him to lead a moral life as taught by the Buddha without doing any injury to the animals This is available in Tibetan. Nagarjuna, who flourished in the second century A D, wrote a letter called Sutrallekha to his friend who was then the Satavahana King This work too is not available in Sanskrit The Maitreya vyakarana of Aryacandra describes the meaning of the author with Maitreya Its Sanskrit original is lost In the central Asian versions, it is called drama

Buddhaghosa, who was sent to Ceylon in 387 A D for a study of the Tripitakas, wrote a poem Padyacudamani in ten cantos describing the life of the Buddha Kalidasa's influence is found in his treatment of Mayadevi,⁷ marriage of Gautama,⁸ sport of the wedded pair in water and the description of the spring⁹ Candrar, who was also known as Candragomin (320 A D), is the author of the Sisyaalekha dharmakavya in 115 stanzas which was sent to Prince Ratnakirti on the impermanence of the world A stotra Tarasadhana, sataka and a drama Lokananda are his works, the last one being available in Tibetan One Dinnaga or Dhiraanaga is known as the author of the drama Kundamala His having been a Buddhist is disputed

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- 1 Buddhacarita XXVIII 63—67
 - 2 „ IV, Saundarananda VII
 - 3 Saundarananda XIV
 - 4 „ XIII 8, XVIII 54, 55/10
 - 5 Buddhacarita IV & V
 - 6 Buddhacarita XII
 - 7 Padyacudamani I
 - 8 „ IV
 - 9 „ VIII

The Suprabhata stotra of King Harsavardhana is a poem in 24 slokas composed in the Mahini metre. The last line of each sloka ends in त्व नित्य सुप्रभात प्रभातम्. Brahma, Visnu, Rudra, sages and others are said to have become deluded and could not find the right path. Harsadeva is the author of another stotra called Astamaharicaityastotra. Santideva of the 7th century is the author of the Siksasamuccaya, Sutasamuccaya and Bodhicaryavatara on ethical life. The deity Tara is praised in the Sragdharastotra by the Kashmirian Sarvajnamitra of the 8th century. The Lokeshvarasataka is a poem on Avalokitesvara by Vajradatta of the 9th century. It is composed in the Sragdhara metre and describes the god, his body, qualities, worship etc. The Kapphinabhyudaya, though written by the Hindu writer Sivasvamin of the 9th century, is a poem based on the Avadana literature. It opens with an invocation to the Buddha. Anandavardhana's citation¹ of Dharmakirti's verse suggests the probability of his coming across a poem of Dharmakirti. The Nagarasarvasva of Padmasri (C. 1000 A.D.) depicts the man of taste. Dharmaghosa (1300 A.D.) wrote the Yamakastuti. The Kavivacanasa-muccaya is a collection of verses composed by many writers on different subjects. Dharmadasa, of the 12th century composed the Vidagdhamukhamandana describing the poetic riddles. The Saptajinastotra and Manjusrinamastaka are lyrical poems. Ramacandrakavibharati (C. 1245 A.D.), is the author of the Bhaktisataka in which he deals with the Buddha as redeemer and dispenser of happiness.

The contribution of the Buddhists in the sphere of philosophy is of unique value. The Buddhists, who had to defend their religion, had to study the Hindu lore and evolve their own system of logic. Their chief opponents were the Naiyayikas who were realists. Hence in the system of the Buddha, one comes across violent criticisms of the Nyaya school. The Mimamsaka and Sankhyas are also attacked. It is the Buddhists that began to study the Nyaya system by attaching importance to the pramanas.

The Mahayana Buddhists appear to have taken up the task of adopting Sanskrit for this purpose. Asvaghosa and Nagarjuna were the first to discuss the matters relating to philosophy. Asvaghosa is said to have written the Vajrasuci attacking the Hindu caste system. Brahminhood, according to Asvaghosa, consists in refraining from all sins and is not based on birth. The colophon refers to Asvaghosa as Siddhacarya. What is strikingly astounding here is this. A passage is cited from a speech addressed by Vasampayana to Yudhishthira. A passage of this kind is not to be traced to the Mahabharata, or the Puranas. Asvaghosa is said to be also the author of the Mahayana-sraddhotpadasastra which divides existence into real and empirical and represents a synthesis of the nihilistic and idealistic doctrines. The original of this work is lost. To Nagarjuna's authorship are ascribed the Madhyama-karikas containing 400 karikas giving an epitome of the Mahayana sys-

tem, *Vigrahavyavartanikarika* on nihilism, *Upayahrdaya* a work on Hinayana and others. Nagarjuna displays rare insight into the science of logic and 'unsurpassed flights of daring thought'. The Chinese sources attribute twenty works to his authorship.

Aryadeva, a pupil of Nagarjuna, is known as the author of the *Sataka* sastra, a polemical work on nihilism, *Catussataka* in 400 karikas on the same topic, *Cittavisuddhi* and others. Maitreya or Maitreyanatha is held to have been the founder of the Yogacara school. His works are many. The *Saptadasabhumisastra*, *Yogacara* and *Bodhisattvacaryanirdeśa* are some among them. Asanga, who belonged at first to the Vaibhasika school, became a Yogacara under the influence of Maitreyanatha. Except one *Vajracchedika*, all his works are preserved in Chinese. The *Mahayanasamparigraha*, *Mahayanasutralamkara* and *Abhidharmasamuccaya* are the well known works of his. Vasubandhu, his younger brother, was at first a Vaibhasika and became a Mahayanist under his influence. His *Abhidharmakosa*, whose original is lost, is an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy. It contains 600 karikas and is rich in quotations from earlier works. His *Paramartha-saptati*, which is also lost, is an attack on the *Samkhyasaptati* of Viṇḍhyavaśin. The authorship of the *Tarkasastra* and *Vadanyaya* on topics of logic is attributed to him. Besides the commentaries on the *Saddharmapundarika* and other Mahayanasutras, he wrote the highly important work *Vijnaptimatrasiddhi* on idealism. It is available in two versions *Vimsatika* and *Trimsatika*. He was considered to be the second Buddha due to his spiritual attainments.

Dinnaga, who was born in Simhavaktra near Kanci, became a disciple of Vasubandhu. He is the author of several works most of which are lost in their originals. The *Pramanasamuccaya*, *Alambanapariksa* and others are some of his important works. He can be described as the father of mediaeval logic. Dharmakirti, who flourished in the 7th century, hailed from South India. He came in the line of Dinnaga, having become the disciple of Isvarasena, a pupil of the latter. Among his works, the *Pramanavartika*, *Nyayabindu* and *Pramanaviniscaya* deserve mention. The *Pramanavartika* is a monumental work which strengthened the Buddhist logic. It has invaluable commentaries by noteworthy scholars like Ravigupta, Manorathanandir, Prajnakaragupta and others. After Dharmakirti, there arose a very large number of logicians whose main contribution was to preserve the Buddhist tradition from the attack of the Naiyayikas and Mimamsakas. Innumerable are the works written by them both independent and commentaries on the earlier works. Jnanasri, Ratnakirti and Dipankara who was styled as *kali-kalasarvajna* are only few scholars to be mentioned here. The *Tattvasamgraha* of Santaraksita, who died in Tibet in 762 A.D., having gone there to preach the Buddhist system, is a highly valuable work on the Buddhistic approach to philosophical speculations. Till 1050 A.D., the Buddhist scholars remained in India. Then they settled in Tibet. From the 4th century A.D., an attempt was made by the Buddhist scholars to render the Sanskrit works

on Buddhism into Chinese at first and later into Tibetan. Much of what the Buddhists contributed to the logical and philosophical aspects of Sanskrit literature remains preserved in the works written in these languages.

In the field of grammar, the Buddhist contribution is very limited. Candrakīrti (300 A.D.), also called Candragomin, wrote the *Candravyākaraṇa* after the model of Pāṇini's *Aśtaśhyai*. His aim in writing this work was to frame rules of grammar for Buddhism. The original is lost and is preserved in Tibetan. This school became popular in Ceylon in the 13th Century when a priest named Kasyapa composed the *Balavabodha* on the subject. In the 12th century, the *Rupavātara* was written by Dharmakīrti, a monk of Ceylon, who dealt with Pāṇini's sūtras in a different order. The *Durghatavṛtti* of Saranadeva a Buddhist scholar was written in 1173 A.D., explaining what correct usages are.

The well-known lexicon *Namalinganūśāsana* is the work of the Buddhist writer Amarasimha who flourished about the 5th century A.D. The importance of this work is too well-known and needs no mention here. The *Trikaṇḍasūtra* of Puruṣottamadeva (1200 A.D.) is a supplement to the *Namalinganūśāsana*, and deals with words mostly of Buddhist origin.

The *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* and *Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgraha* of Vagbhata of the 6th century A.D., represent the unique contribution of the Buddhist writers in the field of medicine. These two works are of unsurpassed excellence. That Vagbhata, their author, must have been a Buddhist, is the view held by the scholars of the West. This is denied by Indian scholars who hold him to be a Hindu. Some scholars hold that these works were written by two different writers having the same name. To one Nāgārjuna is attributed the authorship of the *Yogasāra* and *Yogaśāstra* on the preparation of medicines. The author is identified by some scholars with the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna who is said to have been the author of the *Rasaratnakara* on alchemy.

The system of Buddhism owes its existence and preservation, though outside Indian frontiers, to the untiring efforts of the Mahayanist scholars who wrote invaluable works in Sanskrit. Not only was the Buddhist literature enriched by the writings of these scholars but became popular in and out of India through their efforts. The Hindu systems of thought also would not have had the rich development but for the scathing criticisms levelled against them by the Buddhist savants like Dinnaga and Dharmakīrti. The Buddhist contribution in the sphere of logic is of supreme importance both to the development of Buddhist and Hindu thoughts. In the field of classical literature however, there is not much to be said in favour of Buddhist contribution, though what is available in this sphere has its influence on the Buddhist religion. In the sphere of religion particularly after the beginning of the Christian era, the Buddhist contribution bears the influence of the Hindu doctrines.

LOGIC OF SAMKHYA

BY

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It is usual for logicians in India to hold that the only darsana that has to be consulted for a knowledge of logic (nyaya) is the darsana known by that name. The purpose of that darsana is however different if we consider the topics chosen by it: there is firstly the consideration of the pramanas and then the several topics which usually obtain in debate. Our purpose in logic is to understand the nature of reality or it is for the purpose of finding out the right method by which we may extricate ourselves from sorrow. The first would properly be called philosophy, the second would be an *ethic*. Broadly speaking these two aims are unified in Vedanta, though by and large the aim of Buddhist and Samkhyan logic is to extricate oneself from misery, that is threefold. Though threefold it is capable of being multifold.

2. The Buddhist and Samkhyan logics are concerned with the getting rid of misery. Accordingly they seek to find out the *cause* of misery or sorrow (duhkha). It is not so in Vedanta in the same sense. The Vedanta holds that the Cause of the entire Universe is God, so too the Nyaya system, because the original cause is that Primal Creator of the Universe—either efficient or material or both. This leads to certain major difficulties about the explanation in regard to the cause of the misery of the individual or of the world itself. God becomes the cause of the individual and cosmic misery if he is considered to be the Cause. Perhaps it is because the individuals began to place the responsibility of all evil and misery, both individual and cosmic, on God, and thus consequently felt no responsibility on their own part, the great ethical thinkers Kapila and Buddha felt that the true cause of man's misery is to be traced to something else. The search for cause of all creation is not capable of solving the problem of individual misery and cycle of birth and death. Thus we can understand why these two systems became interested in the cure of the disease and therefore searched for the cause of the diseases of man, his misery and sorrows and fears, and thus they affirmed is not God (indeed God does not come into this picture) but desire—the desire to live in the changing world. The basic denial of the necessity to assume God as cause of the misery of man lies behind the so-called atheism of these two systems. We can even conceive that the Purvamimamsa and Vaisesika denials of God as the Ultimate cause of the processes of karma and dharma was somewhat due to this claim for immediate causes. But they have less justification for avoiding God than the system of Kapila and Buddhism, for the ethical responsibility for one's misery is laid on man or the individual soul in these systems and God is freed from this responsibility.

3 The most important feature of the two systems, Buddhism and Samkhya, thus lies in the dynamic concept of logical thinking, that is to say, in the discovery of Causality as the principle of discovery. Samkhyan logic is definitely linked up with the inductive process of discovering causes and is not interested in the logic of building systems or drawing out implications from propositions. It is real logic. Its entire sphere of logicalising or causal discovery is the sphere of organic development and experience. If the Samkhyan system does not affirm the fact that desire is the cause of all sorrow, an aboriginal desire, it investigates the fact that there must have been an original cause for all these and it is not the God of the theists.

4 Some basic concepts of the Samkhyan logic are propounded at the very beginning of the treatise, Samkhya Karika. The concepts of logical thinking centre round the pramanas or instruments of right knowledge. Pratyaksha or perception is clearly limited to the sensory organs. The Samkhyan analysis of the organs of sense and action reveals them to be the *manas* (which is considered to be a sense-organ, *indriya*), the organs of hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell, (and the organs of action in a sense also do contribute to enjoying and knowing as the organ of speech (eating), grasping by hand, walking by feet, alimentation and sexual enjoyment or sitting). These sense-organs grant knowledge of the world of sounds, forms and colours, touches of soft and hard etc., tastes and smells which are standing for the objects or elements, *akasa, vayu, tejas, ap and prithvi*.

These *tanmatras* (sound, touch, form, taste and smell) are the signs of the gross objects, ether, air, fire, light, water and earth.

Thus the word *linga* is used to designate the sign of a thing. The sign of the element ether is sound and so on, with respect to other signs of other elements. The inference of an element is made from its sign alone (*tanmatra*—that alone or that quality). Samkhyan theory holds that the quality that is *tanmatra* is subtle perceptible form of the element that is gross. Indeed since our own body is made up of these gross elements also, in a sense it is clear that what we have to attend to in our investigation of the causes of our misery is precisely the constitution of our physical body along with the subtle (*linga* from which we infer the gross to which it is related as cause is to effect).

If all inference is restricted to the inference from cause to effect the cause will signify the presence or possibility of the effect. The cause because of its antecedence becomes the *linga* and the effect is the *linga* that which it signifies as following from it. Thus the Karika states that all inference is *lingalingipurvakam*. The usual translation is to make the *linga*, the *hetu* or reason, and the *linga*, the probandum, that which it proves. The deductive logic would involve the fact that smoke is the *linga* and fire is the *linga*. But we cannot say that the smoke causes fire. It is not causally used. The *linga* specifically is a causal term, etymologically it means that it takes one or goes to that with which it is linked or connected causally. The presence of the cause

leads to the observation of the effect. In inference the mind moves within the causal linkage. *Linga* is that close causal linkage between cause and effect so much so to observe the one or think of the one is to be led to think of the other. Whilst this linkage between cause and effect may be effected by constantly or invariably perceiving them together both in positive cases as well as in the negative (*anvaya vyatireka*), yet it is possible to link the two even by a single observation which is free from all defects of omission and commission. Dynamic causal inference is most important in Samkhyan logic.

That is the reason why the inference is classified into three kinds. Inference from the Cause (antecedent—*purvavat*) to effect (ii) Inference from Effect (consequent—*sesavat*) to cause, and (iii) Inference from the common qualities perceived in many effects (or causes) *samanyato dista*.

The *linga* and *lingi* are exchangeable that is to say the effect can be the *linga* or the cause can be the *linga*, in either case they lead to the *lingi*, cause or effect, this of course is logical necessity which is also causal necessity.

Vacaspati Misra identifies the above inferences with *Vita* and *Avita* inferences in Samkhya Tattva Kaumudī Karika 5. But his own explanation of the two terms, *Vita* and *Avita*, are to speak the most confusing. *Vita* means that which has gone—it is therefore an inference from the cause that has happened. (If the cause is present the effect will be present if the cause has happened then the effect is in the process of happening). This is the *purvavat anumana*. The *Avita anumana* would mean inference from that which has not happened—namely, the effect to the cause—*sesavat anumana*. But it is impossible to hold that the former is *anvaya anumana* and the latter is *vyatirekanumana*, that is inference based on positive or presence or agreement of cause and effect together and the latter as based on negative or non-presence of cause meaning the non-presence of effect. Firstly the terms *vita* cannot be given a novel derivative root, which means excessive agreement or *anvaya*. *Vita* means that which has been removed or gone as in *vita-raga-bhaya-krodah sthitadhr munrucyate* (B G). This explanation is certainly more in consonance with the spirit of the *Samkhya Karika* than the attempt to find a new meaning to square it with the Naiyayika logic. Naiyayika logic is mechanical, atomistic, static, whereas the Samkhyan logic is organic, dynamic and synthetic.

The logic of Causality is stated thus precisely when the Samkhyan system assumes that there is a Causal world—that is there is for every effect a cause. This is what western logicians have assumed as the postulate of universal causation: nothing happens without a cause. Secondly, that the causal relation is such that the cause has within it the potentiality (sign of *linga*) of the effect and as such both the cause and the effect are real things or events or existents, however much they may also have the further possibility of effectuation. Thus though the First cause has not got any other cause for its being, being original, the effects of this first cause do have in their turn effects and thus become

causes in respect of their consequents. Finally there happen effects which are incapable of being causes of other things or modifications. In this sense the meaning of the word cause or *linga* is getting restricted in this system to the twenty-two categories of causes and effects. (The *Samkhya Karika* 3 gives the list of these: the first is cause, *prakṛti*, this being the technical term for cause in this system, there are seven effects which in their turn are causes (*vikṛti* is the technical term for effect or modification), and there are 16 *vikṛtis* or effects which are not causes). Thus the whole world which is shaped into all kinds of things are out of these effects. In a sense they are not modifications of the Original Cause but inventions, creations, compounds and aggregates of these gross elements in their collective and in their atomic forms.

Further the strict necessity and possibility of inference both from the effect (called the remainder—*avita* or *sesa*) to the cause and the inference from cause to effect (*ūta* or *purvavat*) involves the assumption that there is only one cause for one effect and strictly like science avoids the plurality of causes which is always the ground for doubt and *tarka*. This is one of the ideals of scientific knowledge and leads to predicatability. Samkhyan ideal of explanation is thus scientific causality and avoids the usual view that there can be multiplicity of causes, at least it does not seem to accept the view that we are concerned with such causes as God, Fate, Chance and so on. This is the meaning again of the inferences which are causally implicative, not as in immediate inferences or inferences which are non-syllogistic and non-causal or incapable of being converted into syllogistic propositions or statements.

A still further assumption underlies the explanation of the third kind of inference *samanyato drṣta*. Usually this kind of inference is said to refer to analogy argument from similar characteristics. The similar or common character (usually known as *jaṭi* in certain systems which almost suggests that they had the view that the things which possessed common qualities are born from *ja*—the same thing), is the reason for inferring either similar effects or similar causes. The bovine nature of both the cow and the buffalo makes us infer that the milk of the latter is as edible and good as the former. The presence of an identical proportion of a same quality makes us infer the nature of both to be identical. Similarity being partial identity it is from this identity—*tadatmya*—that we infer the cause or the effect of two or more things, as having a similar cause. Further this leads us to the concept of a single cause for many effects. Thus the common quality in the several types of mankind helps us to infer the common or single ancestor for all mankind or the common future for all mankind—the kingdom of equality for all men. It is this kind of inference that leads us to the Single Cause or a Single destiny.

It is thus more than analogical inference which is dependent upon the common function rather than common structure. But both kinds of inference are valuable for different kinds of inferences about cause and effect.

Samanyato'drsta inference is however used in Samkhya in a special way. It is said to be useful in cases of causes (or effects?) that are *atindriya* super-sensuous which exceed the capacity of perception by the senses. This includes even *manasa* extra-sensory *pratyaksa*. How this can be so is seen clearly from the fact that according to Samkhya, the *ahamkara* or the function known as individualizing will or doing or agency is not an object of sensory knowledge. Nor is intellect an object of such knowledge. It is one of the profound stand-points adopted by Samkhya when it affirmed that there are three *pramanas* and these respectively apply to effects, causes and effects, causes and to that which is neither a cause nor an effect. Thus effect or *vikritis* are known by perception (*pratyaksa*), causes are known through inference (*prakritis* are known by *anumana* of three kinds), the Original cause or pure Prakṛti only by *Samanyato drsta* and the Purusa which is neither cause nor effect is known through *Aptavacana* or reliable testimony, that is to say, statements of those who have attained that condition of knowledge of that Purusa as different from all *prakritis* and *vikritis* and as eternal and knowable only through *Aptavacana* such as those of Kapila (Buddha or the Sages of the highest calibre).

Thus *Samanyatodrsta* is the inference of the supersensible from the sensible common characteristics (*linga*). This may be called *linga-samanya*. The perception of the common characteristic of all the sensory and motor functions is necessary. This is of course a way of discriminating the similar or the common from the dissimilar or the unique differences. That there is difference in form and nature between the cause and effect is well known as the difference between the subtle and the gross, the distinguished and the indistinguished. The common characteristic is seen to be at each stage implicit or resident in the cause. I-ness is the characteristic of all sensory functioning. Thought seems to pervade or inhere in all the I-nesses or doings of the I and thus it in turn becomes the cause of *ahamkara*. That which is beyond thought or buddhi is purely inferred because it is as the very condition of all effects or thoughts that one accepts its existence. From out of nothing nothing can come. Thoughts thus imply the existence of the Cause which is the cause of thought and all other effects. In one sense the entire tree of evolution or chain of causation (*pratitya samutpada* of Buddhism) is implicit in this trans-buddhic entity called *Prakṛti*, *Pradhana*, *Avyakta* and so on.

The *Samanyatodrsta* inference further furnishes the fact that this original cause should contain the three kinds of characteristics called *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, steadiness, activity (origination) and *tamas* or rest or destruction. Every particular effect has these three stages or characteristics of arising continuing and passing away (or dying). Even the atoms have these processes in this system (unlike as in Vaisesika-Nyaya). Since these three characteristics (*gunas* or threads (interwovenly) are present in each and every effect and therefore it is the *samanya* or common characteristic it is seen that there should be one Cause from which all these should have originated or arisen. Indeed the most important argument for the Oneness of the Prakṛti for all effects

depends on this perception of the Common quality of triguna (threefold processes) (Indian puranas and Vedanta see in the three processes, of *srīstī-sthiti-samhāra janmādi* — the very nature of Prakṛti or phenomenal existence. Thus *Samanyatodṛṣṭa* inference ultimately is the only manner by which the Oneness of Prakṛti for all is established on the basis of the perception of the three *gunas* which are omnipresent in all effects, sensible and supersensible (Gods even are classified according to *gunas*).

Thus inference is clearly restricted to causal implication designated by *linga-lingi-puṇyavakam*. That this might be taken to involve the concepts of *vyapti* (invariable concomitance) said to be the basis of all inference (*anumāna*) need not be denied. The basic consideration in scientific thinking however is this dynamic organic logic in which the effect is assumed to exist in a subtle condition in the cause and the cause is exhibited or revealed or manifested in and through its effects.

The Samkhya Karikas definitely provide this causal necessity in their inference.

Thus they infer the nature of the Unmanifest (*Avyakta*) from the *vyakta* (manifested). The commonality of the three *gunas* is inferred by the presence of the three types of attitudes in all that is manifested but distributed more or less. The inference from effect to cause assumes the similarity and dissimilarity between the manifest and the unmanifest. There is no attempt at all to deny that the effect is dissimilar to the cause, but the potentiality of the effect in the cause and the continuity of the cause in the effect cannot be denied at all in the field of Nature.

The inference from the nature of the *Prakṛti* (*Avyakta* and *vyakta*) to the existence of the Soul or *Puruṣa* is however interesting. The *Puruṣa* has been stated to be neither a *prakṛti* nor *vikṛti*, neither cause nor an effect. If *pratyakṣa* gives knowledge of the effects, and if *anumāna* gives the knowledge of the causes, then *Apṛa-vacana* alone can give us definite knowledge about that which is neither cause nor effect.

Actually the existence of the *Puruṣa* is inferred (or seems to be inferred) from the observance of the following in Nature.

- (1) the *sangata* or aggregation or the evolution of the body with all its different organs and limbs (Buddhistic Skandhas?) is or ought to be for the sake of an enjoyer (*bhokta*).
- (2) There must be a subject for enjoying the object (there must be the reverse of the *trigunas*) there can be no object as such without being an object of a subject. This does not appear to mean to imply the principle that every determination implies negation.
- (3) Since there must be superintendence in other words Nature appears as if it is for the ends of another.
- (4) there is in each self at some time or other a craving for escape from nature and its bodies.

The above inferences reveal that the Samkhyas accepted a final cause or *prayajana* which is capable of being arrived at by the design and activity on the one side of Nature and on the other the inward impulse to freedom from misery or sorrow

The Samkhyan Karika (17) can be interpreted in a different way at the beginning it shows that the soul embarks on its terrestrial life observing that a body has been made for its dwelling. The entire body with all its organs is naturally got ready in the womb and it is said that the soul enters this about this period. The *sangahata* is thus the 22 organed body which is ready for occupation

(2) this Soul is of course the subject who really uses and enjoys the experiences of the world and body through the senses sensory knowledge of the Objective World being its new experience, through fragmentary snapshots distorted or *vivarta* or *viparyaya* of the Ultimate

(3) It takes delight in superintending this body with all its senses even like a charioteer enjoys driving the chariot. This is youthfulness. But as the soul lives on its body it begins to taste both the sweet and the bitter and finally as it ages and the organs wither or lose strength and health the soul seeks to leave the body this leaving may be either for another body or once for all

The reasoning is from the observation of the individual, in his psychic introversion, rather than what it appears to be on the face of the Karika a reasoning based on the nature of *prakṛti* (*vyakta* or *avakta*). There is hardly any cause-effect relation here nor the *samanyatodrsta* possible. Therefore this must be one case of introversion or introspective analysis on the basis of the self-evidence of the self

The question is whether this can be a case of *Apta-vacana*. The axioms of purpose proceed from the intelligent conscious being and are inherent in it to transfer that to the unintelligent is a twist in reasoning. But we if accept that there is no reasoning from *Prakṛti* or its nature but from the *Purusa*, the reasoning does not show itself clearly as causal but final and this final causality rests in the soul not in *prakṛti*. Axioms of final causality cannot be proved but are based on actuality of experience in the world a house is built in order to be occupied and so on

The *Apta-vacana* or the words of the Siddhas or those who have attained the final Goal, are reliable and it is likely that the several statements about siddhis etc., are reliable statements of the siddhas. The argument from inner enlightenment or *cetanata* of the soul comes from the attainment of inner insight after one has seen through the whole evolutionary drama of *Prakṛti*, not at the beginning. The most basic reason for the existence of the self as distinct from nature in all its forms is the desire for liberation from the cycle of *samsara*, the sensory world and all that it entails by way of pleasure-pain, *Jaramarana* etc

Thus *apta-vacana* is not easily identifiable with the *Sruti*, though the whole content of the *Sruti* is precisely this assurance of liberation of the soul from *prakṛti* without return *punaravṛtti* which cannot be given through any inference or *pratyakṣa*. Indeed it is clear that the sensory and intellectual reasoning dependent on Nature cannot give any knowledge of that which is different from them. Thus the knowledge of the Self or Puruṣa comes from itself, it is *atma siddha* or *puruṣa-siddha* (*svayam-siddha*), and can be known only through those who have known thatwise themselves. Sāṃkhya has not presented this aspect but has tried to bring it under the other types of reasonings but without success.

The corrective to this teaching is identical with the effort made against the arguments for the existence of God. God cannot be proved with the help of finite logic, that is logic limited to the experiences of the senses on which all our inferences and analogies depend. Neither an extension of this way of reasoning nor the method of infinitising the finite or reversing of the nature of the finite and the known (technically called *viparyaya* in Sāṃkhya) can be of help.

God can be known and seen and entered into only through devotion which is the fulfilment of knowledge that He is the Ultimate Self—a knowledge which none of the other pramāṇas excepting *Sruti* grants or a Sage or Jñāni teaches. Similarly no one can speak about one's experiences as existing or otherwise except oneself—it is *svāthah siddha*. Though the soul may go through the processes of identifying itself with each and everything yet it gives up these identifications the moment it discovers them to be different or as objects leading to suffering of one kind or another.

Thus *apta-vacana* which has not been fully described in the SK requires a fuller appreciation in its use in the System which of course it has used.

The whole work after establishing the *tattvas* proceeds as if it were description and the reasoning adopted is analogy from the world of experience.

However it is claimed that it is all due to the Supreme Teacher Kapila (the *apta-vacanākara*) that all these have been clearly affirmed as reliable doctrine.

BHAGAVADGITA AND ITS INTERPRETATION

SANKARA RAMANUJA AND ANANDATHIRTHA

BY

Sri T. K. Gopalaswami Aiyangar, M A ,

The Bhagavadgita is universally acknowledged as the greatest treasure bequeathed to us by our fore-fathers. It is a part of Bhisma Parvan of the Mahabharata, contextually connected with an inevitable battle between Kauravas and Pandavas consequent upon a dispute over a paltry principality. Lord Krsna assumed the role of a charioteer to Arjuna and at the request of the latter, He stationed the chariot in between the two mighty armies. On surveying the enemy's army arranged ready for fight which was graced by his revered teachers, his own kith and kin, Arjuna was struck with sudden compunction at the idea of fighting his way to a kingdom by spilling the blood of his kindreds. He preferred to go a-begging and retire from his activities of fighting a fratricidal battle. Consequently, there ensued a long philosophical and theological dialogue emphasising mainly the exaltation of caste above all other duties of obligations including the ties of friendship, affection and reverence. Lord Krsna exhorted Arjuna to discharge his duties as one belonging to the military caste and urged him without the least thought of the consequences and propriety of slaughtering his relations.

The dialogue constitutes eighteen chapters of more than seven hundred stanzas in the anustubh metre. Lord Krsna who found Arjuna deliberately committing a national evil, expatiated at length upon the body-soul relationship and the impermanence of the body alone which was subjected to destruction by weapons. Incidentally the discussions on the cult of sacrifice, the Upanishadic teachings of the Transcendent Brahman, Samkhya Yoga theories were glorified to show how those currents of thought converged towards the same goal. In short, Bhagavadgita can be deemed as a treatise successfully blending all currents of thought and reconciling apparently conflicting ideas. Every chapter concludes the necessity for Arjuna to fight which in the opinion of Lord Krsna is a national duty besides being his self duty or Svadharma.

Among the sacred books of the Hindus, the Bhagavadgita is considered as one of the three Prasthanas besides the other two, viz, Vedanta Sutas and the Upanishads. The three Prasthanas are the three powerful streams of thought, satisfying the needs of different aspirants and conducing towards the consummation of the same goal. Bhagavadgita is taken as a Smṛti in the Brahma Sutas besides its popularity as an Upanisad and it is employed as a corroborating evidence to confirm the truth arrived at by the Vedanta Sutas. Bhagavadgita cites Brahma Sutas as the repository of Upanishadic wisdom.

“ब्रह्मसूत्रपदश्चैव हेतुमद्भिः विनिश्चितैः”. (13th Chapter)

The consensus of opinion in respect of Bhagavadgita is that it is the sweet nectar secured subsequent to the churning of the milky ocean of the wisdom of the Upanisads and the Vedanta Sutras. Some maintain that it is nectarine milk, milked out of the milching cows of Upanisads by Lord Krsna as the cowherd and Arjuna as the calf. The enjoyers of the milk are the great, scholars (सुधी)

सर्वापनिषदोगावः दोग्धा गोपालनन्दनः ।

पार्थो वत्स सुधी भोक्ता दुग्धं गीतामृतं महत् ॥

The Bhagavadgita is the only sacred book which is largely and exhaustively commented upon by a host of commentators. Every school of thought swears by the Gita as the source of inspiration and initiation of that thought.

Among the traditional Acharyas who commented upon the Gita and designated as Bhasyakaras and whose schools are still held in great veneration in South India, can be chronologically enumerated as Sankara, Ramanuja and Ananda Tirtha. These three Acharyas have very large followers, and they are now considered as living institutions. Sankaracarya who flourished in the 8th Century A.D. and wrote the Bhasya on the Brahma Sutras *after a gap of 1400 years after Sutrakara* is the author of the commentary on the *Bhagavadgita* in the light of Advaita Philosophy. Ramanuja who flourished in the 11th cen. A.D., commented upon the Gita in the light of Visishtadvaita philosophy in consonance with Brahma Sutras as interpreted by Bodhayana, the author of prolific *vrtti*. Ananda Tirtha whose date is fixed at 1119 A.D. wrote number of works of which *Gita bhasya* and *Gita Tatparya* expound the message of the Gita in the light of Dvaita Philosophy.

Sankaracarya's interpretation of the Gita on the main points.

(1) Sankaracarya in his introduction to the Bhagavad Gita states that the purpose of the Bhagavadgita is the attainment of Supreme Bliss (पर निश्चयसम्) which constitutes the total cessation of Samsara or transmigratory life and its cause (परस्यास्य गीताशास्त्रस्य परं प्रयोजनं निश्चयसम् । सहेतुकस्य संसारस्य अत्यन्तोपरमलक्षणम्) According to him, Moksha can be attained through only one *path* and that is the path of *knowledge* accompanied at the same time by the renunciation of all actions (ज्ञानं सन्यासलक्षणम्). While commenting on the कर्मयोग chapter, he criticises the view of the older commentators under the title केचिदाहुः। According to him, कर्म and ज्ञान combination (ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चय) is against the spirit of the Gita and so emphasis is laid on ज्ञान accompanied by the total renunciation of all actions alone, as conducive to Nisreyas. In this connection he enunciates two stand points ज्ञान निष्ठा and कर्मनिष्ठा representing technically सांख्यबुद्धि and योगबुद्धि on the strength of the authority of the Gita.

एषा तेऽभिहिता साङ्ख्ये बुद्धियोगेति त्विमा शृणु (II 39) and कर्मयोगेन योगिनाम् (III 3) Ultimately he maintains that ज्ञान and कर्म are the incompatible factors, the one being based upon the idea of अकर्तृत्व, or (non-agency) and एकत्व of unity and the other on the idea of कर्तृत्व (agency) and बहुत्व or multiplicity

एवं बुद्धि योगबुद्धि च आश्रित्य द्वे निष्ठे विभक्ते भगवतैवोक्ते, ज्ञानकर्मणोः कर्तृत्वाकृतृत्व, एकत्वानेकत्व बुद्ध्याश्रययोः एकपुरुषाश्रया त्वासम्भवं पश्यता (II—10) He reiterates the same view as the main import conveyed by the entire Bhagavadgita in the course of his comments on the *Carama Sloka* (सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य). He emphasises that ज्ञानयोग to the exclusion of कर्मयोग is conducive to moksa for the following reasons

(1) It stops the cognition of duality भेदप्रत्यय and conduces to the attainment of moksa.

भेदप्रत्ययनिवर्तकत्वेन कैवल्यफलावसानत्वात्

(2) As moksa is not an effect, it cannot be attained by means of action or Karma

अकार्यत्वाच्च निर्विकल्पात्, कर्मसाधनत्वानुपपत्तिः.

(3) ज्ञाननिष्ठा by its very nature cannot be combined with कर्मनिष्ठा

न ज्ञाननिष्ठा, कर्मसहिता उपपद्यते ।

(4) Nor does ज्ञान require the assistance of कर्मन्

कैवल्यफले ज्ञानक्रियाफलाश्रित्वानुपपत्तिः :

II *Sankaracarya* treats Adhyayas II to X as dealing with the meditation of Aksara or the Imperishable, devoid of all Upadhis and treats विद्वत्पददर्शन as meditation upon ईश्वर with Upadhis

III The Thirteenth chapter is treated by Sankaracarya as the proper basis for expounding Advaita philosophy The terms क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रज्ञ and क्षेत्रज्ञोक्ति as found in the Bhagavadgita stanzas are interpreted by him to reveal the truths expounded in the Advaita Philosophy

इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।
एतद्योवेतितं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः ॥
क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि माविद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ।
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्ज्ञानं मतं मम ॥

Sankaracarya comments on the slokas in the light of advaita philosophy testifying to the identity of the soul with the Lord He pursues his line of arguments to cover all the vital points of Advaita philosophy viz, the soul subjected to avidya, scriptural injunctions as applicable only to the souls in bondage,

bondage and liberation are not real states of the Self, how learned become deluded, the relation of the Self to Samsara is a mere illusion etc etc The long discussion presupposes the *premeditated doctrines of Sankaracarya, incorporated into the Gitabhassya for a wide circulation of his advaita doctrines.*

IV Lastly Samkaracarya, emphatically states that his view is ratified in the Carama sloka in propounding the following theories

(1) *Renunciation of all actions*

(सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य)

(2) *Determine that there is no Principle other than I, myself*

(मामेकं शरणं ब्रज – मत्तः
न इति अवधारय)

(3) *The Path of Knowledge is emphasised rather than the Path of devotion*

(शरणं – ब्रज – अवधारय)
(ज्ञानम् – ज्ञानम्)

Ramannjas interpretation.

Sri Ramanuja A C (1017—1137) A D is the exponent of the Visistadvaita Philosophy in which the oneness of Brahman is proved by the organistic conception. All the Vedic texts are authority in entirety and no text is subordinated to aggravate the importance of another. To him, Gita Sastra is a poem of Philosophical and metaphysical value and Gita Sanga Raha of his great grand Guru Yamunacarya (A C 916) was his pole star to write his Gita Bhasya. Gita Sanga Raha, contains about 30 stanzas calculated to put in a nutshell the entire purpose of the Gita and the scope of each chapter. The boundary line is drawn for each chapter of the Gita and mainly it is divided into 3 Satkas or three sets of six chapters each. The precise nature of each Satka is defined and described and this kind of division guards the overlapping of ideas repeated in the Gita and expounds a clear-cut view of the purpose of the Gita and its philosophical value. First Satka deals with कर्म and ज्ञान which severally and jointly conduces to the visualisation of the finite Self.

ज्ञानकर्मात्मिके निष्ठे योगलक्ष्ये सुसंस्कृते ।
आत्मानुभूतिसिद्ध्यर्थे पूर्वषट्केन चोदिते ॥

Second Satka, elaborately deals with the nature of Brahman, and the process of Bhakti to attain Him

मध्यमे भगवत्तत्त्वयाथात्म्यावाप्तिसिद्ध्यर्थे ।
ज्ञानकर्माभिनिर्बन्धतः भक्तियोगः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Third Sataka, 13th to 18th chapters, expounds the clear discrimination of God, matter and spirit and the nature of कर्म, ज्ञान and भक्ति as useful means to attain Him

Ramanuja upholds the age-old theory ज्ञान कर्म समुच्चय which Sankara refuted for the first time in his introduction of the Gitabhāṣya under the caption केचिदाहुः Throughout the Gita Bhāṣya, Ramanuja refutes the theory of absolute identity of the finite Self and Brahman and upholds that the world is real and not illusory Ramanuja is out and out a Realist and nothing in this world is despicable to him nor anything a waste in the Lord's creation Bhagavad-gita is the outcome of the Lord's extreme mercy showered on the Karma-ridden souls under the pretext of educating Arjuna of his Svadharma Unlike Nirguna Brahman as expounded by Sankara, Ramanuja cites every sloka of the Gita testifying to his Vibhūti or Sovereignty and as the repository of all Kalyanagunas to the exclusion of all evil qualities हेयगुणः Śrī Yamunācārya declares that the Supreme Brahman expounded in the Gita is Narayana

स्वधर्मज्ञानवैराग्यसाध्यभक्तौक्योच्चरः ।

: परं ब्रह्म गीतशास्त्रे समीरितः ॥

Ramanuja applies the theory of organastic conception to reconcile and solve the apparently conflicting ideas The application of this शरीरशरीरिभाव is the master key to unravel the mysteries behind the Upanisads, the Gita and the Brahma Sūtras The eleventh Chapter of the Bhavadgita is an open experiment to maintain that all the animate and inanimate beings form the body to Him, *the Supreme Self* All-pervasiveness and immanence are brought out in each chapter together the Vibhūti of the Supreme Self Ramanuja asserts स्वधर्म as the Karma Yoga including the performance of the Yagas and unequivocally asserts that the sacrifices should be conducted as भगवदाराधन or propitiation of the Supreme self embedded in the individual selves of the Gods He declares that performances of the sacrifices by अभिसन्धिभेद, or सङ्कल्पभेदे there accrue different fruits. If gods are directly worshipped by the sacrifices the fruit that accrues is perishable and durable to a short period If the same sacrifice is conducted as भगवदाराधन, or Propitiation of the Supreme Being it conduces to imperishable and everlasting bliss Ramanuja expressly states—

अहो महद्दिदं वैचित्र्यम् — यदेकस्मिन्नेवकर्मणि वर्तमानाः सङ्कल्पमात्रभेदेन

फलभागिनः च्यवन स्वभ भवन्ति । केचन अनवधिकातिशयानन्दपरमपुरुषप्राप्तिरूप
फलभागिनः अपुनरावृत्तिनश्च भवन्ति (B G IX 25)

Similar to the interpretation of Sankara, Ramanuja also treats the beginning of the thirteenth Chapter as an Upanisadic text and elaborately brings, to light the importance of the *Antaryami-Brahmana to reconcile all the texts*

coherently and relevantly क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रज्ञ, क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोः ज्ञान, ज्ञेय are the terms which are explained to mean चिदयिदीश्वरतत्त्व in unison with the Vedānta Sūtras and the Upanisads. All-pervasiveness and immanence are the master keys to interpret any conflicting passage in the entire Gita. Ramanuja expounds that कर्म ज्ञान भक्ति and प्रपत्ति are the means to attain Brahman. The quintessence of the Bhagavadgita is divulged in the चरमश्लोक which according to Ramanuja is the *secret of the secret doctrines* revealed at the end. According to Ramanuja, the Surrender unto Him is a measure to get over certain meditational difficulties in attaining the acme of perfection in the practice of Bhakti Yoga.

Ananda tīrtha

The main idea which the Gita presents to Arjuna according to this Acarya can be enumerated thus,

(1) He lays stress on the duties of Svadharma as Ramanuja and emphasises that devotion to the Lord is the immediate means to which all the rest will be subservient. He asserts that both knowledge and wisdom and mokṣa to which a wise man is entitled, are the gifts conferred on the devotee by the Lord. However devoted one might be, one is bound to do all duties laid down as pleasing to the Lord and avoid all the prohibited actions. He states that even the devotee who has directly seen the Lord, ought to perform duties, unlike Sankaracharya's view of giving up all duties.

एव कृतं कर्म पूर्वैरेविमुमुक्षुभिः ।

कुरु कर्मैव तस्मात्त्वं पूर्वैः पूर्वतरंकृतम् ॥

B. G. (4-15)

He declares Arjuna as the highest qualified person and as one who has directly realised the Lord. Lastly he concludes that the Lord is the controller of the universe and is different from the universe. He is the Supreme being perfect in every excellence and the only subject of all the Sastras. It is only by Bhakti He can be attained.

अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां, प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।

जीवभूतां महाबाहो यथेवं धार्यते जगत् ॥

मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ।

अहं जगत् प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ॥

According to him, cit and acit, (animate and inanimate) are dependent on Brahman for their form and function. Ananda Tīrtha is staunch in criticising the theory of Maya or avidyā. He rejects the theory of Parinama as expounded by Ramanuja. According to Ananda Tīrtha, Iśvara is not the immanent cause of creation that enters into all beings and becomes one with the changing world.

Srī Madhvacharya, unequivocally asserts that illusory appearance of the universe is emphatically criticised by Gītacarya himself in the following Stanzas

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं, ते जगदाहुरनोऽश्वरम् ।
 अपरस्परसम्भूतं किमन्यत्कामहेतुकम् ॥
 एतां दृष्टिमवष्टभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽल्पबुद्धयः ।
 प्रभवन्त्युग्रकर्माणः क्षयायजगतोऽहिताः ॥

Regarding performance of Karmas, he maintains that they are to be performed by reason of their being laid down as injunctions in the Sastras, without any desire for fruit thereof. Anandatīrtha expounds that even if Karma performance is not conducive to any tangible fruit, it will cause supreme satisfaction to the Lord that the devotee has obeyed His commands (namely श्रुति, स्मृति १). He admits *Ananda Taratamya* आनन्दतारतम्य, *Variation in the degree of enjoying Eternal bliss* owing to the difference in personality of different individuals. *That the state of salvation differs with each person is a new theory founded by Anandatīrtha*. One common feature in spite of difference in *Ananda*, in the state of moksha is the absolute *absence of painful experience*.

Ananda Tīrtha takes keen interest in declaring Lord Narayana as the Highest Reality and that Bhakti as a means for pleasing Him and attaining His grace. He advocates the theory of ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चय and shows that Karma associated with knowledge will lead to salvation.

Though the interpretation of some stanzas of the Gīta, is varied Ananda Tīrtha advocates the purpose of the Gīta, in the same manner as Ramanuja propounded.

A critical note on the interpretation of the Bhashyas.

All the Acharyas who declare that their interpretations on the Bhagavadgītā are based on Sampradaya or tradition of their own, hold that their Bhashyas alone constitute the correctness of the import intended by the Gītacarya. It is important to note that by reason of the respective Acharyas being the *Bhasyakaras of the Vedānta Sūtras* and the *systematisers of the Upanisadic teachings*, the language and Spirit of the Gīta are wrested and strained to suit their premeditated doctrines. Further the Acharyas made it their theme and aim to harmonise the teachings of the three Prasthanas, and consequently a settled view of any Prasthana, first interpreted whether right or wrong was forced into the language of the *other Prasthanas* to convey the same identical view, in spite of clearer expressions and unequivocal assertions endorsing the contrary view. It is important in this connection to cull *historical evidences to know the environments and conditions under which the Bhashyas on the three Prasthanas were expounded* by the respective Acharyas. It is a general attitude of authors of Philosophical treatises and dramatists too, to incor-

porate in their works ideas relevant and prevalent in their age and respond or refute the views of their contemporaries. As such, it may be recalled to memory that at the time when Sankara undertook to found the *Vedic religion* *Buddhism was rampant, converting Hindus to its fold and repudiating the authority of the Vedas*. The doctrine of Ahimsa appealed to the good sense of the people at large and gained popularity with the result that the *cult of sacrifices was openly scandalised and condemned*. Though the Naiyayikas ranging, from Gautama to Uddyotakara attacked Buddhism, their line of *arguments was based on logic and inference without reference to the Vedic authority or the Upanisads or their interpretations*. So it had fallen to the *lot of Sankaracarya, after Kumarila to defend the Vedas from the Buddhist attacks on the one hand and establish the permanance of at least one entity self or Brahman, as against the Buddhist doctrine of the flux of momentariness*. So in his double task, he was probably constrained to subordinate and sacrifice the prominence of other entities and categories expounded in the Upanisads in his enthusiasm in fixing a single permanent entity *Self or Brahman*. Consequently he was forced to reduce the visible world to false appearance with *illusory characteristics*. Certain Upanisadic texts *नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन* etc, should have contributed to the illusory character of the universe which Sankaracarya would have accepted as one of Vedic sanction. The views of both the schools of Sankara and Buddha have ideas common to both since both the systems *have sprung out of the common reservoir of Upanisads*. That Buddhism was deep rooted in the minds of the Hindus can be evidenced by the *Gaudapada Commentary* on Mandukya Upanisad. So, it can be *historically conjectured* that the Upanisadic interpretation of Sankaracarya was a necessity forced by circumstances and promoted by the spirit of uplifting the Vedic faith. What gained momentum by the *interpretation of the Upanisads* under the environments, was *transferred to the Vedanta Sutras and the Gita by Sankaracarya*. He was urged by the enthusiasm to harmonise the three Prasthanas and keep uniformity in metaphysics and epistemology. The atmosphere that permeated at the time of Sankaracarya, was so soaked with *the vapours of Buddhism* that the Acharya's efforts would have become utterly futile, had he upheld the cult of Vedic sacrifices especially when ahimsa cult was luring and appealing to the good sense of the public.

So Sankaracarya was willy-nilly constrained to ignore Karma portion which involved violence to animals and looked upon with disgust by the common people. The time and environments were not propitious to revive Vedic cult of sacrifice when the authority and the supremacy of the Vedas were *cut at the root and scandals were spread against Vedic exegesis*. By reason of Buddhism seriously engaging in the field of knowledge on the basis of flux and momentariness, Sankaracarya confined to the jnana portion of the Upanisads and *pursued that line of argument alone with Buddhists*. His aim would have been also to *reconvert the Hindus from the Buddhist fold and convince those who were halfway between Buddhism and Vedic religion*. Rightly,

he reserved the upholding of the cause of Karma path to posterity and was seriously engaged in the debate to found a permanent Entity Self or Brahman. The host of Vedic scholars and the Bhasyakaras subsequent to Sankara, should be deeply indebted to the latter for his service to Vedic religion and philosophy especially at the time when Buddhism was in some parts as the religion of the state. It cannot be conjectured what state of affairs would have prevailed had not Buddhism been driven out and Vedic faith installed. What best could be done by him under the circumstances was done for the sake of Vedic Philosophy within the short period of his life.

But by the time Ramanuja and Ananda Tirtha had sprung up, Buddhism was in utter decadence and practically the clouded atmosphere cleared for better vision and right comprehension of the Vedic tenets. Vacaspatimishra, Udayana and others contributed to the total extirpation of Buddhism when Ramanuja and Ananda Tirtha undertook to their leadership as Bhashyakaras of the Gita and the Vedanta Sstras. Environments were congenial, Vedic religion was in its progress and onward march and every one felt happy that the ancient Vedic faith was restored. Evidently Ramanuja's task was, to probe unto the eternal verities taking the Vedic authority in all its entirety. Ananda tirtha followed the same path of investigating the truth and found his philosophy mostly on the path of Ramanuja in metaphysical interpretations.

There is every propriety in declaring the Gita to uphold the theory of Karma Yoga or performance of Svadharma, which is urged as the burden of a song at the end of each chapter as तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय, युद्धयस्व भारत, etc. The response of Arjuna at the end is relevant to this theme of the Gita namely

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।
स्थितोऽस्मि गत सन्देहः कश्चिद्द्वेष्ये वचनं तवः ॥

“Destroyed is my delusion, through Thy Grace
Wisdom is gained by me I stand forth freed from
doubt I will act according to Thy Word.”

It is definite from the logical consequences at the beginning and end of the Bhagavadgita, it is only Svadharma that is proclaimed and advocated.

It can therefore be conceded that Sankara's interpretation, renouncing totally svadharma or कर्म is the outcome of irresistible Buddhistic environments and the age in which he flourished.

T. T. D. MUSEUM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA

BY

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This set of three copper-plates is preserved in the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams Museum at Tirupati. The plates have a dome shaped top and are held together by a stout copper ring passing through a hole cut in each plate at the top. The find spot of these plates is not known.

The plates are 1" thick, 11.5" long and 7.7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised and the writing is in a good state of preservation. The diameter of the ring is 3.3" and it has a seal, 1.5" in diameter, containing the figure of a boar facing the right with a sword before it, placed upside down. There are two thick lines below the animal and below these lines in the centre is an inverted sword flanked by a *chamara* on each side.

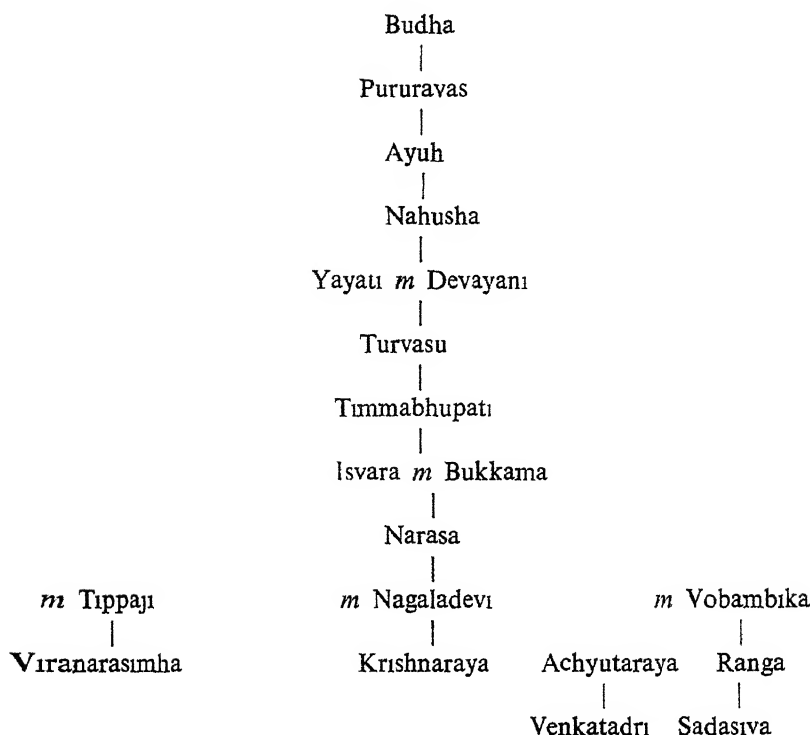
The first side of Plate I and the second side of Plate III are blank and used as covers. The inscription, engraved on the second side of Plate I, both sides of Plate II and the first side of Plate III, containing 32, 31, 32 and 25 lines respectively, runs into 120 lines and 78 verses. The characters are Nandinagari and the language Sanskrit excepting the last line which is the signature and which is in Telugu-Kannada characters. Excepting the invocatory expression, *Sri Ganadhipataye namah*, at the beginning and the signature at the end, the entire inscription is in verse. There are numerous scribal errors and certain parts contain omissions of the original text of the grant.

This is a grant of the well known Vijayanagara ruler, Sadasivaraya and records his gift of the village of Tottagapalli *alias* Timmapuram, included in the Udayachala-rajya, to a certain Konayyacharya, made at the instance of Kondaraja of the Araviti family.

The date of the grant is given as a Monday, corresponding to the *Utthana-dvadasa* day in the month of Kartika, falling in the Saka year counted by *Vilochana* (2) *Asva* (7) *Veda* (4) *Indu* (1) in the cyclic year Sadharana. The Saka and cyclic years correspond to each other but the *Utthana-dvadasa* corresponds not to a Monday but a Wednesday, the 22nd of October. So, the week day seems to be wrongly given. The date of the grant may be taken to correspond to Wednesday 22nd October, 1550.

The grant gives the following genealogy of the donor —

The Moon



The following information is given about the rulers mentioned above —

Viranarasimha: He made numerous gifts at Kanakasabha, Virupaksa, Kalahasti, Venkatadri, Kanhci, Srisaila, Sonachala, Harihara, Ahobala, Samgam, Srirangam, Kumbhghonam, Mahanandi, Nivritti, Gokarna, Ramasetu and other places

Krishnaraya: He gave many *danas* like Brahmanda and Svarnameru

Venkatadevaraya: He succeeded Achyutaraya and ruled for a very brief period

Sadasivaraya: He was installed as king by Ramaraya, his own sister's husband, and by the ministers. He had the titles Bhasage tappuva rayaraganda, Rajadhiraja, Pararayabhayankara, Paradarasodara, Hindurayasuratrana, Gajaughagandabherunda, Ardhanarimatesvara etc

The gift recorded in this grant was made at the instance of Kondaraja of the Araviti family whose genealogy is given as follows —

Bukka *m* Ballambika
|
Ramaraja *m* Lakkambika
|
Pedakondaraja *m* Tirumalambika
|
Kondaraja

The text of the inscription is said to have been composed by Sabhapati and engraved by Viranacarya

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

- VERSES 1—38 correspond to the same verses found in the British Museum plates of Sadasivaraya (*Ep Ind IV* pp 12—15)
- VERSE 39— The expression *Sindhu-rajā-gabhiradhīh* occurs in this verse in the place of *indu-vamsa-sikhamanīh*
- VERSE 40— The first *pada* of this verse and the early part of the second are different
- VERSES 41—43 These verses are identical.
- VERSES 43 AND 44 Mention the date and place of the grant
- VERSES 46—50 These verses describe the donee, Konayyacharya, son of Sri Chennamacarya of Bhojanapalli, who belonged to the Kasyapa gotra, Apastamba sutra and Yajussakha and who knew the meaning of all the *Sastras*
- VERSES 51—56 These verses mention the village granted and other details as found in most of the later Vijayanagara grants
- VERSES 57—68 These verses give details about Kondaraja at whose instance this grant was made
- VERSES 69—71 These mention the process through which the grant was made
- VERSES 72 Mentions the composer of the grant
- VERSE 73 Mentions the engraver of the grant, Viranacharya, son of Virana.

TEXT

FIRST PLATE — SECOND SIDE

- 1 श्री गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुबिचंद्रचामरचारवे । त्रैलोक्य-
 2 नगरारंभ शभवे ॥ [१] ¹ हरे लीलावराहस्य बंष्ट्रादंजो स ² पातु वः ।
 3 हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री छत्रधियं दधौ ॥ [२] कल्याणायास्तु ³ प्रत्यूहतिमिरा-
 4 पंह । यद्गजो प्यगजोद्भूतं हरिण्यपि च पूज्यते ॥ [३] अस्तिक्षीरभयाद् देवं मंघ्रमा-
 5 ना ⁴ न्महांबुधेः । नवनीतमिबोद्भूतं मपनीतं तमो महः ॥ [४] तस्यासीत्तनयस्तपो-
 6 भि स्तुलं रन्वर्थनम्मा बुधः । पुण्यं रस्य पुरुरवा ⁵ रायु द्विषा निघ्नतः ।
 7 तस्यायु नंदुषो स्य तस्य पुरुषो युध्दे ⁶ ययाति क्षितौ । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसु वंसुनिभ-
 8 श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ॥ [५] ⁷ तद्वशे देवकीजनिर्द्विदीपे तिमभूपतिः ⁸ । यशस्वी तुलुवेदेषु ⁹
 9 यदो ¹⁰ कृष्ण इवान्वये ॥ [६] ¹¹ ततोभूद्बुक्कमाजानि रीदवरक्षितिपालकः । अत्रास
 मगुणभ्रं —
 10 शं मौलिरत्नं महीभुजां ॥ [७] सरसा दुदभूतस्मा ¹² भरसाबनिपालकः । देवकीनंद-
 11 ना त्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव । [८] विविधसुकतारामे ¹³ रामेश्वरप्रमुखे मुहुर्मुदितहृ-
 12 दय ¹⁴ स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त यथाविधि बुधपरिवृतो नानादानानि यो भुवि षोडश त्रि-
 13 भुवनजनोद्गीतं स्फीतं यशं पुन ¹⁵ ॥ [९] ¹⁶ कावेरी माशु बध्वा बहलजनरणां
 14 ता विलंध्यैव शत्रुं जीवग्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भु ¹⁷ च राज्यं तदीयं कृत्वा श्रीरं-
 15 गपूर्वं तदपि निजवसे ¹⁷ पट्टण यो बभासे । कीर्तिस्तंभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तू-
 16 यमानापदानः ॥ [१०] चेरं चोलं च पांड्य ¹⁸ तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं ¹⁹ । वीर्योद-
 17 भं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदन्यान् । ²⁰ तिरलंका -
 18 रम भूभूत्तटांतं नित्तांतं ख्यातक्षोणीपतीनां लज्जमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यक्ता-
 19 नीत् ॥ [११] ²¹ तिप्पाजि ²² नमलादेव्यो. कौसल्या श्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहैर्द्रा-
 तस्मा-
 20 त्पंक्तिरथादिव ॥ [१२] वीरो विनयिनौ रामलक्ष्मणाविव नंदनौ । जातौ वीरनृसिंहैर्द्र-

1 Verses 1—4 Anustubh

3 तच्छ्वाम

5 भुजबलै

7 Sardulavikridita

9 तुलुवेन्द्रेषु

11 Verses 6—8 Anustubh.

13 सुकथारामे

15 पुनरुक्तयन्

17 वशे

19 Verses 10—11 Sragdhara

2 दडस्स

4 मध्यमाना

6 युध्दे

8 तिमभूपति

10 यदो

12 दुदभूत्तस्मा

14 हृदय

16 Harini

18 पाण्ड्य

20 तिप्पाजी

- 21 कृष्णरायमहीपती ॥ [१३] ²¹ रगक्षितीन्द्राच्युतदेवरायौ रक्षाधुरीणाविव रामकृष्णौ । वो-
 22 बाबिकाया नरसक्षितीन्द्रा दुभा वभूता मुरगेद्रसारौ ॥ [१४] ²² वीरश्रीनारसिंह स्स
 23 दि रे रत्नसिंहासनस्तः ²³ कीर्त्यानीत्या निरस्थ नृगनलनहुषान प्यवन्या-
 24 न् । आसेतो रासुमेरो रवनिसुरनुतः स्वैर माचोदयाद्रे रापादचात्याचलाता दखि-
 25 लहुदय मावर्ज्यं राज्य शशास ॥ [१५] नानादाना न्यकार्षीं त्कनकसदसि यः श्रीविरू-
 26 पाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकालहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वेकटाद्रौ च काच्या शीशैले श्रोण-
 27 शैले महति हरिहरे होबले संगमे च श्रीरगे कुभघोणे हततमसि महानदि-
 28 तीर्थे निवृत्तौ ॥ [१६] गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्व पुण्यस्थानेष्वारब्ध ना-
 29 नाविध बहलमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदच तुरंगप्रकरखुररजः शुष्य द-
 30 बोधिमान् क्षमाभूत्यक्षच्छिदोस् त्करिकुलिशधारो त्कठिता कुठिता भूत् ॥ [१७] ब्रह्मांड
 31 विद्वचक्र घटमुदित महाभूतक रत्नधेनु । सप्ताबोधीश्च कल्पक्षितिरुहलति-
 32 के काचनीं कामधेनुं स्वर्ण क्षमा यो हिरण्याश्वरधमपि तुलापूरुष गोसह-

SECOND PLATE — FIRST SIDE

- 33 स्र । हेमाश्व हेमगर्भ कनककरिरधं पचलागल्यतानीत् ॥ [१८] ²⁴ प्राज्य प्रशास्य
 34 निर्विघ्न राज्यं धामिव शासितु । तस्मिन् गुणेन विख्याते क्षिते रिद्रे दिवं गते ॥ [१९]
 35 ततो प्यवायंवीय²⁵ श्री कृष्णरायमहीपतिः । बिभर्ति मणिकेयूर निर्विशेषं म-
 36 हौं भुजे ॥ [२०] ²⁶ कीर्त्या यस्य समततः प्रसृतया विद्वं रुचंय व्रजे दित्याशक्य पुरा पुरा-
 37 रि रभव द्भालेक्षणः प्रायश पद्याक्षोपि चतुर्भुजोऽजनि चतुर्वको भवत्यद्भ्यः । काली
 38 खड्ग मघा द्रमा च कमल बीणा च वाणी करे ॥ [२१] ²⁷ शत्रूणां वास मेते ददत
 इति रथा किं नु-
 39 सप्ताबुराशी धानासेना तुरगतृटितवसुमती धूलिकापालिकाभिः । शशोष्य²⁸ स्वैर-
 40 मेत त्प्रतिनिधिलजविश्रेणिका यो विधत्ते ब्रह्मांड स्वर्णमेरुप्रमुख निजमहादान-
 41 तोयै रमेयैः ॥ [२२] ²⁹ स्तुत्यौदार्यं स्तुधीभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंह
 भूपान्कृष्ण-
 42 राय³¹ धर कटका दाच हे ता दासेतो रयिसार्थश्चिय मिह बहलीकृत्य की-
 43 र्त्या बभासे ॥ [२३] ³² कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजाश तदनु तदनुजन्मा पुण्य-
 कर्माच्युतं-

21 Verses 12—13 Anustubh

22 Upajati

23 सिंहासवस्थ

24 Verses 15—18 Sragdhara

25 दीर्य

26 Verses 19—20 Anustubh

27 Sardulavikridita

28 सशोष्य

29 Sragdhara

30 सिंहासनस्थ

31 भूपालकृष्ण. After this add क्षितिपति रघरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादीन् । आपूर्वाद्रे रथस्तात्क्षिति-

32 Sragdhara

- 44 द्र० । अखिल मवनिलोक स्वांश मेत्यारिजेता विलसति हरिचेता विद्वदिष्टप्रदा-
 45 ता ॥ [२४]³³ अंभोदेन निपीयमान सलिलो गस्त्येन पीतोन्नित स्तप्तो राघवसायकाग्नि-
 शिख-
 46 या सतप्यमान स्सदा । अतस्ते³⁴ बडभामुखानलशिखाजाते विशुष्को ध्रुवं यद्दानांबु-
 47 घनांबु रबुधि रयं पूर्णं स्समुद्योतते ॥ [२५]³⁵ समजनि नरपालः सत्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजय-
 48 नगरे राजव्रतनसिंहासनस्थः । नृगनलनहुषादीं ब्रीचयन् राजनीत्या निरुपमभुजवी-
 49 यौदार्यभू रच्युताख्यः ॥ [२६]³⁶ क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदेहे प्राप्तं पदं वैष्णव मच्युतेत्रे³⁷
 अध्यास्य
 50 भद्रासन मस्य सूनु वीरो बभौ वेंकटदेवरायः ॥ [२७]³⁸ प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रसवास्त्ररूपे
 विद्वन्नि-
 51 धौ वेंकटरायभूपे अभागधेया दक्षिरा त्रजानामाखण्डलावाप्त मघाधिरुद्धे ॥ [२८]³⁹
 तिम्मा-
 52 बा⁴⁰वरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितीशात्मजः । क्षत्रालकरणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटरा-
 53 र्ज्याश्रया शैर्यौदार्यदयावता स्वभगिनीभर्त्रा जगन्नायिना रामक्षमापतिना प्यमा-
 54 त्यतिलकैः क्लिप्ताभिषेकक्रमः ॥ [२९] श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महासांभ्राज्य सिंहासने
 संता-
 55 नद्रुवि स्फुरन् सुरगिरौ संहृत्य विद्वेषिणः । आसितोरपि चाहिमादि रचयन् राज्ञो
 56 निजाज्ञाकरान् सर्वा पालयते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां ॥ [३०]⁴¹ विख्यात विक्कां-
 57 तिनयस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां आनंदबाष्पं रभिषिव्यमाना देवी-
 58 पदं दर्शयते धरित्री ॥ [३१]⁴² गोत्रौद्धारविशारदं⁴³ कुवलयपीडापहारोद्धुरं । सत्यायत्त
 59 मतं समस्तसुमनस्तोमावनैकायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचि सविजयं संश्रंदक⁴⁴-
 60 श्रीभरं य शंसति यशोदयाचितगुण कृष्णावतारं बुधाः ॥ [३२] विख्यात बहुभोगभृंग-
 61 विभवं रुद्रामदानोद्धुरं⁴⁵ । धर्मेण स्मृतिमात्रतोपि भुवने दक्षं प्रजारक्षणे । प्रा-
 62 प्तं यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिभृद्दिग्वंतिकूर्मोपमं । पातिव्रत्यपताकिकेति धरणीं
 63 जानंतु सर्वजनाः ॥ [३३]⁴⁶ यत्सेना भूलिपालीशकमशक समुच्छादने धूमरेखारोमाली-

33 Malini

34 बडवा

36 Malini

38 Indravajra

40 तिम्माबा

42 Indravajra

44 सन्नन्दुक

46 Verses 32—33 Sardulavikṛdita

35 Sardulavikṛdita

37 अच्युतेत्रे

39 Upajati

41 Verses 29—30 Sardulavikṛdita

43 गोत्रौद्धारविशारद

45 दानोद्धुरं

SECOND PLATE — SECOND SIDE

- 64 कौतिवध्वा इव भुवन मिद सर्वं मतर्वहत्याः । वेणीनाणीयसीव प्रकटित-
 65 विहृते वीरलक्ष्म्या रणाग्रे । शात्ये जीमूतपक्तिः किल शकल⁴⁷ खलस्तो ॥ [३४]⁴⁸
 66 तुंगामेव दया⁴⁹ शोणा च कृष्णा तनु रक्ता नीलसिता त्रिवेणि मनघा
 67 वीक्षा गिर नर्मदा । तीर्थानीति समावहृत्यवयवै⁵⁰ शेषाद्विवासी विभु⁵¹ । प्रायो यस्य वि-
 68 शेषभक्तिमुदितः पट्टाभिषेकश्रिये ॥ [३५]⁵² बोधधित्यपयायितगंड प्रोषणरूपजितास-
 69 मकाडः ॥ भाषेगेतप्पुवरायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभूनवखडः ॥ [३५]⁵³ राजाधिराजबिरु-
 70 दो राजराज समाहितः । स्वाराजराजमान श्री श्रीराजपरमेश्वर ॥ [३७]⁵⁴ मूरायरगडा-
 71 को मेरुलघितशोभरः । दारः परराजभयकरः ॥ [३८]⁵⁵ करदाखिलभूपालः
 72 परदारसहोदरः । हिंदुरायसुरत्राण सिंधुराजगभीरधीः ॥ [३९]⁵⁶ विष्टपत्रपविख्यातो दु-
 73 ष्टशार्दूलमर्दन⁵⁷ । अरीभगंडभेरुंडो हरिभक्तिमुधानिधिः ॥ [४०]⁵⁸ वर्द्धमानापदानश्री⁵⁹-
 74 र्धनारोनदेश्वरः । इत्यादि बिरुदै वंदितत्या नित्यमभिष्टुतः ॥ [४१]⁶⁰ काभोज भोज
 कार्त्तिक-
 75 करहाटादि पार्थिवैः । सौविदल्लपद प्राप्तै स्संदर्शित नृपोपदः ॥ [४२]⁶¹ सोयं नीति-
 विशार-
 76 दः सुरतरुस्पर्धालविश्राणनः सर्वोर्वीशनतः सदाशिवमहाराय क्षमानायकः । बा-
 77 हावगदनु विशेष मखिल सर्वसहा मुहह⁶² न्विद्वत्राणपरायणो विजयते वीरप्र-
 78 तापोन्नतः ॥ [४३]⁶³ विलोचनाश्ववेदेंदुगणिते शकवत्सरे वर्षे साधारणे मासि कार्तिके
 सौम्य-
 79 वासरे ॥ [४४]⁶⁴ पक्षेवलक्षे पुण्याया मुध्दान⁶⁵ द्वादशी तिथौ । तुंगभद्रानदीतीरे
 विट्टलेश्वरस-
 80 तिथौ ॥ [४५]⁶⁶ काश्यपान्वयदीपस्य काश्यपीकल्वशाखिने । वर्णनातीतशीलाय बसू-
 81 त्रिणे ॥ [४६]⁶⁷ यशस्विने यजुश्शशाखाध्यायिने भीष्टदायिने । नालीकाक्षपदाभोज
 केलीभसल⁶⁸
 82 चेतसे ॥ [४७]⁶⁹ नरलोक नराकार मत्रिणे । स्त्रार्थविदुषे नलिनासनमू-
 83 तंये ॥ [४८]⁷⁰ वरेण्याय वंचितातरवैरिणे । महीशमकुटीरल महितार्ताग्निसरो⁷¹

47 सकल

48 Sragdhara

50 अवयवै

52 Sardulavikrīḍita

54 Verses 37—40 Anustubh

56 वर्द्धमानापदानश्री

58 उद्धहन्

60 Verses 44—56 Anustubh

62 केलीनिर्मल-

49 Add after this पराबुजयुगा

51 विभु

53 Dodhaka

55 शार्दूलमर्दन

57 Verses 41—42 Anustubh

59 Sardulavikrīḍita

61 पुण्याया मुध्दान

63 मण्डिताग्निर

- 84 रहै ॥ [४९] ख्यात भोजनपल्ली श्रीचैनमाचार्यसूनवे । कोनय्याचार्यवर्याय गुणरत्नपयो-
 85 धये ॥ [५०] उदयाचलराज्ये च प्राज्ये वास मुपासित । श्रीमिदृचैनुपल्याख्यप्रा-
 86 मादक्षिणत स्तित ॥ [५१] श्रीचिनमाचुपल्याख्य पश्चिमा दिश माश्रितं । ताडिगोत्रा-
 भि(धा)-
 87 द्ग्रामा वुत्तरा माश्रित दिश ॥ [५२] ख्यात तिमपुरमिति प्रतिनाम समाश्रित । तोल्लग
 88 पल्याख्यं ग्राम सस्योपशोभित ॥ [५३] सर्वमानां चतुः सीमासयुतं च समंततः । निधि-
 89 निक्षोपपाषाण सिद्धसादध्य⁶⁴ जलान्वित ॥ [५४] अक्षिणागामि⁶⁵सयुक्त मेकभोग्य⁶⁶
 सभूरुहै ।
 90 बापीकूपतटाकैश्च कळारामैश्चसयुत ॥ [५५] पुत्रपौत्रादिभि भोग्य क्रमाशा⁶⁷चद्वतार-
 91 क ॥ [५६] दानाधमनविश्रीति योग्य विनिमयोचित । भूकल्पशाखी प्रथितारवीटि बुक्कक्ष-
 92 मापो जनि पुण्यशीलः । बल्लाबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरदरस्येव पुलोमकन्या ॥ [५७]⁶⁸ज-
 93 ज्ञे तत श्रीवर रामराजो⁶⁹विबुधाग्रिपाना लक्ष्मीरिवांभोरुहलोचनस्य लवकाबिका
 94 मुष्य महिष्यथासीत् ॥ [५८]⁷⁰ नानाव्याखिलमेदिनीक स्तस्यात्मजोभू त्पेदकोडराजः ।
 95 कोडाबिका तस्य मनोनुकूला गुणोत्तमासी⁷¹ल्लुलधर्मपत्नी ॥ [५९]⁷² तस्या प्रवीर * * *

THIRD PLATE — FIRST SIDE

- 96 राज्ञो कुलाद्रिसारो कुलयु भ्रमासीत् । योमंडलाधीश्वरहार-
 97 वल्या यद्वो⁷³यथौ नायकता महिम्ना ॥ [६०] दयांबुये रभूतस्य देवी तिरु-
 98 मलांबिका । देवसेनेव सेनान्यो दमयती नलस्य वा ॥ [६१]⁷⁴ अस्यात्मजश्श्री-
 99 वरकोडराजः कनत्रमोघः कविकालमेघः । शौर्यानि ल शत्रुमहीप-
 100 तीनां शातो यदीये⁷⁵शरवृष्टिपातैः ॥ [६२]⁷⁶ यस्य विस्त्राणनगुण लब्धुकामा इश-
 101 रद्रुमा । तपश्यति⁷⁷स्सुपर्वतदिनीतटे ॥ [६३]⁷⁸ सुमतेरस्य धीर-
 102 रस्य सूदितारातितेजसः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसपदः ॥ [६४] आ-
 103 त्रयगोत्रदीपस्य गात्रेरितमनोभुवः । अतेबवरगडस्य हरिभक्तानु-
 104 कपिनः ॥ [६५] नहुषोपमस्य श्रीमंडलैक गडस्य । एबिरुदराज-
 105 राहुत वैश्यैकभुजंगबिरुदभासितस्य ॥ [६६]⁷⁹ विख्यातबिरुद मनिय⁸⁰विभाल ली(ला)-

64 सिध्दसाध्य

66 सयुक्तमेक

68 Upajati

70 Indravajra

72 Verses 59—60 Upajati

74 Anustubh

76 Upajati

78 Verses 63—65 Anustubh

80 मन्त्रिय

65 अक्षिण्यागामि

67 खमाशा

69 Add after this विज्ञेयशीलो

71 गुणोन्नता

73 मध्ये

75 यदीयै

77 जटावन्त

79 Verses 66—67 Giti

- 106 कबिजयशीलस्य । विश्वंभराभूतिश्रीविसृतधरणीवराहबिरुदस्य⁸¹ ॥ [६७] विहिता
 107 लिबंघुस्य विश्वाशावासवेस्मनः⁸² । वीरस्य कोडराजस्य विज्ञप्ति मनुपालयन् ॥ [६८]⁸³
 108 परीतः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधौ विबुधैः श्रौतपथिकै रधिकै गिरा ॥
 [६९]⁸⁴ स
 109 दाशिवमहारायो माननीयो मनस्विना । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा न्मुदा ॥ [७०]
 110 सरस सदाशिवरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्तिधुर्यस्य । शासन मिद सरासन दाशरघे र-
 111 मितहेमदानरतः ॥ [७१]⁸⁵ मृदुपदमिति तांशशासनार्थं महित सदाशिवराय शासनेन
 अभ(व)-
 112 दनुगुणं वचो महिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिः स्वयभूः ॥ [७२]⁸⁶ सदाशिवमहाराय शासना
 113 द्वीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचर्यो कलिरवत्तांशशासन ॥ [७३]⁸⁷ ते
 मध्ये दा-
 114 नाष्टे धेनुपालनः दानात्स्वर्गं भवान्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥ [७४] स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुण्य
 115 परदुत्तानुपालनं । परदुत्तापहारैण स्वदत्त निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [७५] स्वदत्त परदत्ता
 116 वा यो हरेति वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [७६] एकैवभ-
 117 गिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजा । न भोज्या न करग्राह्या ि वसुधरा ॥ [७७] सा-
 118 मान्योय धर्मसेतु नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वा नेतान् भाविनः पा-
 119 धिवेद्रा न्भूयो भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [७८] श्री ॥

श्रीविरूपाक्ष

81 बिरुदस्य

82 विश्वासावालवेश्मन

84 Verses 69—70 Anustubh

86 Puspitagra

83 Anustubh

85 Giti

87 Anustubh

Some Observations on Sanskrit Manuscripts

By

N SUBRAMANIA SASTRY, MA *Dipl Lib Sc*

The search for Manuscripts was started about 150 years ago, the credit of this being due to some extent to Sir William Jones, at whose instigation the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established in the beginning of 1800 A D. This event seems actually to mark an epoch in the intellectual and cultural history of India. For, the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was symbolical of the rising interest in Asiatic culture more or less. The activities of the Asiatic Society naturally evoked responses in other centres, and one of the visible signs of this activity has been the collections and preservation of Manuscripts. Even before that period, Manuscripts were collected and preserved in libraries, styled *Bharati-bhandagaras* or *Saraswati-bhandagaras*, which were attached to temples, monasteries, palaces and even to the private houses of the rich¹

The libraries of India viz., the Universities, Learned Societies, Research Institutions etc., have secured and are still securing Manuscripts from different parts of India for the benefit of the reading public and research scholars, with a view to add to the historical knowledge and literature of India. Such collections are preserved at the various provincial or State capitals. In the Bengal State, for instance, the excellent work done by Drs. Rajendra Lal Mitter, Haraprasad Sastri will always remain an example of what a State can do in order to collect and preserve rare Manuscripts. Similarly in the Madras State the work done by Drs. Hultzsch, Burnell, C. D. Brown and others and in the Bombay State by Drs. Buhler, Peterson and Bhandarkar are remarkable and praiseworthy. Indian States, like Mysore, Travancore, Baroda followed suit and opened Oriental Manuscripts Libraries at Mysore, Trivandrum, Baroda respectively and other states like Bikaner, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Jammu likewise collected Manuscripts and housed them in their own respective repositories. Learned Societies like the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta, the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute at Poona, the Asafiya Library at Hyderabad, the Adyar Library at Madras, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna,

N B — In the writing of this article I wish to record my grateful acknowledgement to the late R. A. Sastri, the well-known scholar and a life-long worker in the field of Mss Collection, from whom I have derived valuable hints and suggestions.

1 For a detailed account, see my paper on "Libraries in Ancient and medieval India" Journal of S V O I Vol X

the Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore and Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute at Tirupati have all added to the rich collection of rare Manuscripts. Individual scholars, like the poet Bana about 620 A D, -King Bhoja (11th Cent A D) the great scholar Kavindracharya (Benaras) about 1650 A D etc., possessed considerable private collections.

After the discovery of Sanskrit by Sir William Jones about the end of the eighteenth century and the publication of his manuscripts printed in his works in 1807, European scholars both in India and Europe began to collect manuscripts and copy them, and Universities and learned bodies of Europe also interested themselves in the collection of the manuscripts. They either purchased collections from individual scholars or sent agents to India for the purpose. In many instances, individual scholars willed away their valuable collections to these learned bodies and by the middle of the nineteenth century there were many very respectable collections in Europe. Weber's catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the King's library at Berlin in 1853 and the catalogue of the Bodleian Library collection of Sanskrit manuscripts by Professor Aufrecht in 1864 were the first descriptive catalogues published in Europe. The catalogue of the Mackenzie collection by H. H. Wilson in 1828 and Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of Indian Philosophical works were the first published in India. The beginning of the collection and preservation of Manuscripts in India may be traced back to the year 1868—69 when the Central Government took initiative in the matter and introduced a regular and systematic search of Manuscripts in different parts of India. The whole correspondence will be found in Gough's collection of papers relating to "the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India" published in 1878. Prof Dr Belwarker, in his foreward to the first volume of the Descriptive catalogue of the Government collection of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College, Poona, (1916), has since given the whole history of the origin of the idea and development that took place during the last 75 years.

The importance of Manuscripts for the purpose of the study and the advancement of knowledge cannot be over-estimated. A study of Manuscripts is useful not only to the students of literature but to the students of history in general. Purely for historical purposes, they are of the utmost importance as supplying invaluable data on all aspects of public and private life. Students of Palaeography may collect important and valuable materials from the study of the manuscripts—old and new and supplement the information gathered from the lithic records and copper-plate inscriptions. A careful and intelligent collation of Manuscripts is expected to clear up many apparently hopeless textual inaccuracies in the published portions of the literature. From the study of the Manuscripts we have an idea of the nature of the various materials of writing and scripts in use in olden times in different parts of the country. The beautiful art of calligraphy as noticed in some

manuscripts is also of immense artistic interest. Illustrations of painting and decorative designs occasionally met with in certain manuscripts and covers there of, are of no small value to the students of the development of art in India and they have already attracted the attention of a number of art connoisseurs. A thorough investigation of the manuscript material is essential before the reconstruction of a comprehensive history of the literature of the country may be possible and the trend of the literature and history may be visualised in its true perspective². Lastly, Manuscripts, apart from works are often found to throw important light on different aspects of social history of the country.

It is not known when Sanskrit manuscripts first began to be written or used but it is certain that all Sanskrit works were in Manuscripts, for printing was unknown in India, till, 1712 A D when the Danish missionaries brought out the Apostles' Creed entirely in Tamil, at Tranquebar. This was the first book printed in any Indian languages. But there were numerous libraries of Manuscripts. Books became indispensable when the old method of oral instruction, for several years continuously, by a single teacher, gave place to instruction by several teachers. Further, when the Puranas became the order of the day at a certain period, the writing became a professional one and there is mention made in some Puranas³ how the professional scribes were to be religiously honoured with presents etc., and how the gifts of books (Vidya-dana) to individuals and to the librarians were to be made in order to get religious gifts. For instance, Lakshmidhara's eulogy of the value of great collection of books (Manuscripts) will bring joy to modern bibliophiles and librarians. Lakshmidhara (12th cent. A D) gives a realistic description of the work of the copyist and the glorification of his calling and of calligraphy⁴. The copyist or calligraphist is raised to a high social position. He is to be rewarded not only by gifts but with public marks of honour. The stylus, writing material, indelible ink and the writing desk are all meticulously described and with marked gusto. The completion of the transcription of a great book was to be celebrated as a public event, as the Italian of the Middle Ages used to celebrate in civic possession the painting of a Madonna by a painter of eminence like Giovanni Cimabue. Again, with the Buddhist and Jains, it has always been esteemed a virtuous act to have sacred books copied in as elegant a way as possible and to present them to monasteries. Prof Buhler mentions that "a Library at Ahmadabad contains four-hundred copies of the "*Avasyaka sutra*."⁵ This practice is also mentioned by Hemadri. So

2 Prof Chintahasun Chakravarti Study of Manuscript

3 Some Puranas like Devi, Matsya and Bhavishyat mention in detail the writings and preservation of books etc., as a religious ordinance

4 See Kṛtyakalpataṛu of Lakshmidhara Vol V Danakanda Ed by Prof K V Rangaswami Iyengar, pp 214-216 G O S No XC II

5 Prof Buhler Report of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1872-73, p 1-2

we may safely say that when one takes the trouble of counting the Manuscripts now existing in public and private collections or libraries the number will go not only to lacs but to crores, each Manuscript having been copied a number of times. For instance, the copies of Ramayana of Valmiki copied at different times and at different places go to more than ten thousand in number. We do not exaggerate the number in this case. In Sri Venkateswara University Manuscripts library itself, there are some 280 copies of Ramayana Manuscripts. It can, even, authoritatively be stated that from a perusal of the passages of the dead manuscripts extracted and preserved in the living works, the number of manuscripts that disappeared owing to Manuscript custodian's poverty and other misfortunes like fire, flood, white ants, silver fish and above all, political and religious feuds etc., might have been much greater than those left behind. From the 7th century onwards when our great Acaryas like, Sri Sankara, Ramanuja and other learned people appeared successively in the Vedanta literature, voluminous works began to appear. Since that period Dharmastra literature also began to develop enormously. After the complete disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth *i.e.*, from 8th century onward, Srauta literature with its sacrifices began to re-assert itself in the field, followed by thousands of commentaries and annotations. Thus a large collection of works on various subjects has come out from the 6th or 7th century to the beginning of the 19th century. The Tantras, Mantras and stotras also had their own quota of manuscripts. Hence we find in India alone an unlimited number of Manuscripts. Still there are so many left, that it will take centuries of labour of numberless scholars to examine them all.

As for the writing, our ancestors used two methods, one by super-scribing by coloured liquids on the writing materials, as we do on paper, and the second by inscribing with a sharp metal instrument on stones, copper-plates and palm-leaf. The professional scribe was also an accepted feature of Indian life from the earliest times. He was known as *lipikara* or *libikara* in the fourth century A.D., *divirapati* in the seventh century A.D. and *Kayastha* since the 11th century. The scribes also cultivated writing as an art. Many learned men became scribes, as the profession was a paying one. A fine writer learned in different branches of learning (Sastras), who did not commit any single mistake in his voluminous writings, was honoured like a god. We find not a single mistake in the manuscripts of the 10th to 16th centuries, and with one single copy any scholar can prepare a press copy for his edition. Afterwards deterioration came in. From the end of 17th century, illiterate scribes were employed for copying, and the literate neglected the writing practice. The result was that in course of time almost all the Manuscripts produced between the 17th and 19th century were hopelessly inaccurate and such Manuscripts can only serve as tests by which we can judge the proficiency of scholars who attempt to edit them.

Materials for copying Manuscripts, The materials for copying Manuscripts in ancient days consisted of (1) Bhurja-patra (Birch-bark), (2) Tala-

patra (Palm-leaves) (3) Toola-patra (cotton), (4) Bark of tree called *Aggr.*, (5) Wood, skin and stone (6) Paper Of these the oldest are the birch-bark (*Bhurja-patra*) It is mentioned in *Amarakosa* and incidentally in *Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa* and *Vikramorvasiya* The earliest real description of its use that we meet is by *Alberuni* (About 1030 A D) The latest and most complete description of this material and the way it is used is to be found in the *Bombay Journal* ⁶ The oldest Manuscript on *Bhurja-patra* is the *Dhammapada* in *Kharosthi*, dating from the 1st cent. A.D. The famous *Bower Manuscripts* and *Bakshali manuscripts* are also written on the same material. The colder region of *Gilgit* in *Kashmir* and the *Himalaya* still possess invaluable stocks of Manuscripts particularly those going back to the days of *Mahayana Buddhism* Some of these birch-bark manuscripts can be seen in the *National Archives of India*, *New Delhi*, *Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, *Madras*, *Saraswati Mahal Library*, *Tanjore*, *Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Institute Library*, *Tirupati* etc,

Palm-leaf: The use of palm-leaves, as material to write on, is certainly of considerable age in India and from thence it spread to *Ceylon* and *Indo-china* The use was probably common from the period of introduction of writing into *South India*, but it is not possible to fix the exact date The leaves are used in two ways (a) The letters are scratched on them with a style and the lines thus formed are afterwards made clear by being filled with some black-matter-powdered charcoal or lamp-black, rubbed in with some juicy vegetable stalk This is the most general way of writing (b) The leaves are written on with a pen and both black and red ink This way of writing seems peculiar to North of India, particularly in *Gujarat* In the South, Palm-leaves were used for all purposes, as they were cheap, abundant and easy to handle The palm-leaves are tanned and well-coated with the application of the juice of *Datura* The North Indian Palm-leaf Manuscripts are distinguished from those in the Southern India by their size, quality of leaves and by the manner of writing The palmyra-leaf used in writing Southern Manuscripts, are usually thick with a certain degree of stiffness, while those at North India, are thin and soft. In South India, the Palm-leaves are made into small pieces and the letters are scratched with an iron stylus and then the ink was besmeared on them and wiped out with a piece of cloth, while the writing on Manuscripts in North India has been executed with a reed pen. The earliest known Manuscripts on palm-leaves to which a date can be assigned are possibly a few fragments in the *Godfrey collections* which are of the 4th cent. A.D. and the *Hourizi Manuscripts* of the 6th A D The Chinese chronicler *Hieun T-siang* attests to the wide use of this material in preparing manuscripts, which were either written in ink or cut with a stylus and blackened with charcoal or soot The oldest Manuscripts found in S India dates, according to *Prof Burnell*, from 1427 A D

Some of the oldest of the Palm-leaf Manuscripts are preserved in the Jain temples of Western India especially at Jaisalmer. The bulk of the manuscripts in India was written on palmyra-leaves. Palmyra leaf manuscripts alone run into some lacs.

All the palm-leaf Manuscripts are pierced either with one hole in the middle or with two holes on the left and the right in the case of long Manuscripts, through which strings are passed in order to keep the leaves together. The Manuscripts are generally placed between wooden boards. The largest Manuscripts measures $34'' \times 2 \frac{1}{2}''$ in size, while smallest $3 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 1 \frac{1}{2}''$ in size.

(3) Another material, possibly brought into use later, was cotton or silk cloth. Some preparation made out of cotton and pith in those days called Toola Patra for writing purposes did not last long. A manuscript written on cloth dated Vikrama Samvat 1418 (A.D. 1351—52) was found by Peterson at Anhilvad Patan.

(4) In Assam some manuscripts were written on the finely prepared bark of a tree called Agarū, and we get a number of manuscripts on Kavya, Purana etc., on that material.

(5) On rare occasions wood, skin and stones were also used as writing materials. The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses an Indian manuscript written on a wooden board. About two dozen documents written in Kharosthi on leather were found by Prof. Stein in Chinese Turkistan. Dramas written by the Cahamana King, Vīgraha IV, and his court-poet Somadeva have been found carved on stones at Ajmer.

(6) Paper Manuscripts. Paper, of course, was freely used from early times, though none of the Manuscripts available can be dated earlier than the 13th cent. A.D. But in view of the fact that Indians are known to have made paper out of cotton since the 2nd cent. B.C., it is permissible to infer that books were written on it. The earliest Indian Manuscript on paper that has, as yet been discovered is 1310 A.D.⁷ and most of Manuscripts in existence are subsequent to 1500 A.D. And if it is true, as Mackay and others surmise, that there is a specimen of an ink-well found at Mohenjodaro, it may be taken that the use of ink was known in pre-historic times in India. The use of ink was known as early as 5th cent. B.C. The method of preparing ink is forgotten at present. Ink was called *Laksha* (lac ink). Even the so-called Swan ink or Quinck ink fades away after some years, whereas the ink which our ancestors used, appears brighter as time passes on.

The country-made paper Manuscripts prepared by an admixture of red powder (Haridra) withstood the attacks of insects longer than palm-leaf Manuscripts though the latter were tanned and well-coated with the

7 Notices, X, p. 111 (Report)

application of the juice of *Datura*. We have to come to the 17th and 18th cent A D for paper manuscripts on some large scale. It was about this time that paper gradually displaced palmyra leaves as material on which to write. By the end of 19th cent A D, the palmyra leaves had practically disappeared from public use. It may be interesting to note that perhaps the first exact historical mention of books in India is that by the Chinese which records the importation of books from India into China in 73 A D. At the beginning of the 5th cent A D we have Fa-Hian's testimony that books were then very rare and he also tells us that he had to copy himself what he wanted.⁸ But two hundred and fifteen years after this, there was not so much difficulty, copyists were then to be found and Hieun-T-siang appears to have had little difficulty in collecting a considerable library. Hieun T-siang is said to have carried away a large number of manuscripts, amounting to 658 texts loaded on 20 horses. The Sramana Punyopaya, in A D 655, took away 1500 texts from India to China.

Correction in Manuscripts Erasures are generally made by a line above or below the erroneous letter or word and occasionally the erroneous letter or word is beaten out. Omissions are marked by a small cross (Kakapada or Hamsapada) over the place and the letter or words that are wanting are then written underneath the line or in margin. If there are several such corrections on the same leaf, it is often difficult to make out the places to which each belongs and this is a frequent cause of error in the transcript of Manuscripts. The copyists will always insert any marginal note that may be seen in the text, but are quite indifferent where they insert it.

Where a word or letter is to be transferred, this is done by writing numbers above, corresponding to the required order. In South Indian Manuscripts of commentaries on texts, the words of the original are very seldom given in full, but the first two or three syllables are quoted, a cross is then put and then the last word or syllable of the sentence which is to be explained is then given e.g. Athato darsa + Vyakhyasyamah. The oldest Manuscripts on palm-leaf contain merely the text and that continuous from the beginning to the end, even the end of a section being marked only by a l only. After 15th or 16th century this awkward custom was generally given up and the division of a text plainly marked by ornamental flourishes which are various forms of the word "*Sri*". About the same period were written the earliest examples of Manuscripts with diagrams or illustrative pictures.

About 9th or 10th century, the dates are mostly expressed by significant words and in 11th century this is always done. A complete list is given by Alberuni (1031 A D). In marking numbers by this system units are mentioned first and then the higher orders, e.g., *Rshi-nagakshendu* Samvatsara is the year 1087. Similarly *Vaswanka vasu* (the date of the composition of Nyaya-

8 Beal's Buddhist Pilgrim pp 142 etc

suci-nibandha by Vachaspati Misra) is the year 898. In some Manuscripts the letters of the alphabets are used to mark the leaves of the Manuscripts. It was used a good deal in Malabar and also occasionally in Telugu country. By this system the consonant (with short a, and in their usual order) stand for 1, 2, 3, etc., up to 34 and then they are repeated with long a, e, g, Ka=35, Kha=36 and so on. By the addition of the other vowels the series may be continued to a considerable length.

Illustrated Manuscripts In Northern India there was a development in the art of drawing pictures from the 14th century onwards. We find now picture manuscripts very finely drawn with different colours on art papers, showing pictures of Ganesa, Devi and other gods. In Jaipur where the art of picture-drawing was developed in the earlier days we find Raga and Ragini manuscripts and well-depicted pictures of Devi in Devi Mahatmya manuscripts. There are in Orissa side 24 pictures drawn in fine colours depicting the important incidents of the Bhagavata stories. The hundred enchanting Devi pictures as depicted by the great Sankaracharya in his Saundarya-lahari work, are preserved in the Baroda Library. In the south where the palm-leaf Manuscripts are predominant, some fine pictures are drawn on the palm-leaves, and on the wooden boards of the manuscripts, showing Yantras, Chakras, lotus and the Devata figures. Crude *Dasavatara* pictures drawn on palm-leaf manuscripts and on their boards are occasionally met with in the southern manuscripts. Another most noted place for illustration is Kashmir and the finest and richest Manuscripts are usually in that State, the illustrations consisting of flowery initials, single figures, marginal lines etc.

We do not know when the script was introduced in India. No written documents have come to light to prove that India was the home-land of the art of writing. But the large number of seals and other articles showing a high degree of art, which have been discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, prove the existence of a pictographic script which has yet to be deciphered. The Greeks and the Romans were the foremost in preserving their respective literature in writing. We find the writings of Plato and Aristotle preserved in the Vatican at Rome and other places. We find the writings of a number of great writers preserved in their respective countries. But in India the case is quite different. The ancient Hindus trusted to their brain from the palmy days of Vedic civilisation down to the Puranic period of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. and preserved the voluminous literature of the Vedas and Sastras in memory which were handed from the mouth of the preceptor (Guru) to the student and therefore called *Sruti*. When writing was invented and even extensively used, there was a strong prejudice against putting down *Sruti* works in writing⁹. There were imprecations against writing the Vedas in many ancient Law Books of the Hindus. Alberuni says that the first *Sruti* work written down was in Kashmir and in 950 A.D., and it is a matter of

9 There was prejudice against the substitution of books for oral instruction in Ancient India and the "Seller of the Vedas" (Veda-Vikraya) who is held up to reprobation is not

common observation with all who know manuscripts that manuscripts of the Vedas discovered in Northern or Southern India are all on paper, the oldest going back to the 15th or the 16th century. This manuscript was found in Nepal and is now deposited in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is about 150 years older than the oldest manuscript used by Prof. Max Müller in his first edition of the Rig Veda. No manuscript of this Veda at least has yet been found on birch-bark.

Writing was known in India as early as the time of the composition of Vasistha's Dharma Sutra in which *Lekhya* or documentary evidence is regarded as the best of evidences. Buhler and other Orientalists are of opinion that the Dharma Sutra was compiled in the 9th cent B C and hold that writing was introduced into India from Phoenicia in the previous century. Pāṇini (7th cent B C) the celebrated grammarian mentions '*Yavanani*,' the writing of the Yavanas (Ioneans), thus indicating that in his time the people not only knew the art of writing, but also the scripts of distant countries. It was well known in Buddha's time, as a boy he was put in a *Pathasala* to learn his letters¹⁰. In the Kautilya-Arthashastra, which is attributed to Vishnugupta who is better known to the public as Chanakya and who according to the tradition overthrew the Nanda dynasty and placed Chandragupta on the throne (about 321 B C,) the entire tenth chapter of the second book is devoted to "The procedure of forming Royal writs"¹¹. Besides, in Kautilya's time, there

the person who offends against the canon of free teaching, but against one who offends against the spirit of oral teaching by writing out the Veda and selling it. The way in which instruction is to be given is oral. Smṛticandrika (Mysore ed. p. 51) states that he who has studied from books, relying thereon, and not learnt from guru, fails to shine in an assembly even as woman who have been impregnated by paramours and that reliance on books is of the same category as dicing, acting, women, idleness, and sleep in being an obstruction to learning.

पुस्तकप्रत्ययाधीत नाधीत गुरुसघौ ।

भ्राजते न सभामध्यं जारगर्भं इव स्त्रिय ॥

10. It is mentioned in the Lalitavistara that when young Siddhartha, the future Buddha, went to schoolmaster Visvamitra 'with a golden pencil and phalaka of red Sandal wood' he learnt at once the sixty-four alphabets. Lalitavistara, 10th Adhyaya.

11. We find the following instructions: "Teachers say that '*Sasana*,' command (is applicable only to) royal writs (Sasana). Writs are of great importance to Kings in as much as treaties and ultimata leading to war depend upon writs. Hence one who is possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with all kinds of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing and sharp in reading shall be appointed as a writer (*lekha*). Arrangement of subject matter (*arthakrama*), relevancy (*sambandha*), completeness, sweetness, dignity and lucidity are the necessary qualities of a writ. The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement when subsequent facts are not contradictory to facts just or previously mentioned and so on till the completion of letter, it is termed relevancy. Avoidance of redundancy or deficiency in words or letters; impressive description of subject matter by citing reasons, examples, and illustrations, the use of appropriate and suitably strong words is completeness. The description in exquisite style of a good purpose with a pleasing effect is sweetness. The use of words other than colloquial (*agramya*) is dignity. The use of well-known words is lucidity. The alphabetical letters beginning with Akara are sixty-three.

was a regular secretariat for keeping records, accounts etc. Asoka's inscriptions are well-known. They were written in two different scripts—the Brahmi¹² and Kharosthi—the one written from left to right and the other from right to left. The Kharosthi was introduced by the Persian conquerors of Western India in the 6th century B.C. Brahmi is the survival script of Mahenjodaro and Harappa and is of indigenous origin. Orientalists like Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Bhandarkar and others hold that Brahmi, however, is the mother of all Indian scripts. It was originally a rectilinear alphabet with very few curves, but with the lapse of time, change of places, materials for writing, forms of pen and habits of writings the right lines sometimes changed into circles and sometimes into triangles. Thus a variety of alphabets arose in India which, though deriving their origin from one common source, seem at first right so divergent. These alphabets have been given different names, the Gupta alphabet, the Sri Harsha alphabet, the Kutila alphabet, the Chera alphabet, the Sarada alphabet, the Nandi Nagari and so on. In modern times too, we have different names for these alphabets—the Nawari, the Pahari, the Tirhuti, the Kayathi, the Kashmiri, the Gurmukhi, the Modi, the Balabodha the Marvari, and so on.

We can safely group into three divisions all the local scripts used for recording Sanskrit language and literature in this vast country. The northern group of scripts had its origin before Buddhist period and continued till the end of 7th century A.D. when Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth.

We have seen that the origin of script has not been solved as yet satisfactorily. Any way, when once an idea originated and was recognised, systematic improvement of the script was effected gradually. Thus the Brahmi or Nagari (improved) script is now called by us as the parent of all scripts from the Asoka edicts to the present well-improved scripts. The Himalayan script of Buddhist literature belong to the older branch where the present Tibetan scripts are used. The younger ones are the Sarada of Kashmir, the Nandi Nagari, the Devanagari, Maithili, Bengali and Gujarathi which are used now in the Northern parts. The Southern division constituted of Telugu, Dravida or Tamil, Kerala and Grantha branches was planned later on independently. The third one is Utkala script in Orissa Country. The letters are round one, and there is a vast Sanskrit literature in that script from Veda to Kavya well preserved in palm-leaf manuscripts. The Burmese and Singalese Buddhist Manuscripts, inscribed on finely tanned palm-leaves, might be imitations of the old Utkala round-shaped scripts. All the above scripts belong to be left to right type.

12. The history of Brahmi-lipi (script) has a more ancient history. The script which is collectively called Brahmi in the form in which it makes its appearance, is highly developed. The arrangement of the alphabets is strictly scientific. The principles of phonetics are properly observed. This perfection can only mark the culmination of a long continued process of evolution in the art of writing in India.

In one of the twelfth century Dharma Sastra works called Kriyakalpādruma which the late Prof K V Rangaswami Iyengar had edited in the Baroda series, the author quotes extracts from Devī-Purana which Hemadri also repeats "One should copy in Nandī Nagari script in Palm-leaves with beautiful and clear writing the sacred literature, and present it to a learned scholar "

This is the only mention of the script Nandī-Nagari in our sacred works. This Nandī-Nagari scripts, at present, seems confined only to Vidyanagar Empire, i.e., Bellary, Gokarna, Malnad and Mangalore (Karnataka country). When the great Sayanacharya, the Vedic commentator, in 1350 A.D. engaged copyists for copying his works at Hampi (Vidyanagar), we find that paper Manuscripts were copied in Devangari and the Palm-leaf ones in Nandī-nagari scripts. Almost all the palm-leaf Manuscripts which have survived and are now preserved in the Sringeri Mutt library are in the Nandī-Nagari script. The total number of manuscripts in the Mutt library is at present about 600. Śrī Madhavacharya's birth-place was in the west-coast (Uduppi). His writings as well as those of his successors and śiṣyas were almost all in Nandī-Nagari script. Some of these manuscripts travelled into the Tamil and Telugu countries with their custodians. Owing to want of practice in reading this script, even the possessors of those manuscripts do not utilise them. In Mangalore side, there is a script called Tulu, with Tantras, Agamas and other works. Some of the Uduppi Literary Manuscripts are in that character. At present the Nandī-Nagari has become obsolete.

Two Eras were current throughout India for common use from time immemorial. One was the Vikrama Era called Samavat-sara started at 56 B.C., and it is observed even today throughout northern India. Another one, the Saka Era, starting from 72 A.D., is adopted by a particularly limited section of people in Bengal and Maharashtra. We do not know how the two Eras have become prominent, and who the heroes of these two Eras were. Of course there are also local Eras like Nevari in Nepal in the North and Andu Era in the extreme South, in Kerala. The Buddhist Era did not survive in India. Śrī Jain Era has survived among the followers of Śrī Jina, and is about 2475 at present. To some extent the Kali Era also was formerly current, but it has ceased to exist to-day.

The Manuscript writers make mention of the Vikrama Era called Samvatsara. Among the palm-leaf manuscripts discovered so far, the earliest date found is 927 Samvatsara i.e., 871 A.D.¹³ This is the oldest palm-leaf Manuscript available. There is a collection called Bower's collection which was brought from Eastern Turkistan sometime ago, which the manuscript scholars attribute to 7th cent. A.D. The paper, writing and the subject matter have led them to fix the date as early as 7th cent. A.D. But no mention of

13 This reference was kindly given to me by the late R. A. Sastri, the veteran scholar and indefatigable worker in the field of MSS. Collection.

date is made in the manuscript itself. Next comes 1164 *i.e.*, 1108 A D. From this date to 1550 A D we have dated manuscripts preserved well in Jain Bhandars at Cambay, Anhilwara. In Nepal, Manuscripts written in eighth, ninth, tenth century are common. We are speaking only of dated manuscripts, some of the undated manuscripts or manuscripts which have lost their dates may go back even earlier. None of the paper manuscripts available can be dated earlier than 12th or 13th century. The paper manuscripts begin with the dates 1236 Samvatsara *i.e.*, 1180 A D, but till 1450 A D the dated paper Manuscripts are scarce, and from that date both Saka Era as well as Vikrama Era manuscripts are found, till printing appeared in India. We have to come to the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for paper manuscripts on some large scale. It was about this time that paper gradually displaced palmyra leaves as the material on which to write. By the end of Nineteenth century the palmyra leaves had practically disappeared from public use. The curious fact to be noted is that in Andhra, Tamil Nad and Kerala countries where the manuscripts appeared in large numbers as South India was peculiarly fortunate in their freedom from the ravages and invasion of the Muhammeden rulers¹⁴ there is not a single mention of Vikrama or Saka Era recorded.

14 South India has remained almost free from the ravage of invasion and counter invasions that the rest of the country suffered from. These invasions became more and more destructive as time advanced, and literature and literary works suffered much along with everything else. As the Muhammeden power established itself and extended gradually to occupy the whole of Hindustan, Hindu learning and literature had to retire to a distance for safety. South India became more and more the home of this fugitive literature. Long before this period of compulsory migration, Sanskrit learning and culture had found a comfortable home in the South for over a millennium. This migration only proved to be an additional stimulus to the development of Sanskrit learning. We have a remarkable statement in one of the Chola inscriptions dating about A D 1024 that the territory of Kosala which till then was regarded as not quite suitable for residence of Brahmanas had come gradually to be adopted by them for residence. This Brahmanical migration into what was known as the feudatory states of Orissa and its immediate neighbourhood was the direct consequence of Mahmmad Ghorî's attack upon Kanuj. It was at that time that the great Gangai kondacholan from the south offered an asylum to the Gauda (Bengal) Brahmins flying southwards for protection by giving them homes in the various Agraharas or Brahmin settlements, in his territory to the south of the Krishna. This state of things continued so long as the whole of the country remained more or less unsafe for Brahmins and Brahmanical learning till at last the foundation of Vijayanagar provided a safe enclave for them in the territory south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra line. With the foundation of Vijayanagar, Sanskrit learning and literary patronage generally took a new start, and all that has been preserved to us both in the field of learning and literature as well as in religion were due to this Hindu Empire more or less. Therefore, the manuscripts literature of South India must necessarily be vast and must consist of (1) Works from Northern India, brought along with the Brahmin immigrants of early times and later on with the Brahmin immigration under stress of circumstances referred to above. (2) Secondly there has been a considerable stimulus to composing works in Sanskrit during the early period and perhaps to a far larger extent in the later. Therefore this falls into two classes, literature that is northern and southern in common, and literature produced in South India. Hence, the wealth of manuscript material recovered by the composite Madras Government, Travancore and Mysore States was something really great. (Dr S Krishnaswamy Iyengar)

by the copyist at the end of his writings. Some latter-day Andhra and Dravida manuscripts record Prabhava year of 60 year's round, and a few mention Andu Era of Kerala.

In this extremely hot and moisture-ridden country the manuscripts do not survive longer than 500 years though well protected. The palm-leaf and paper-manuscripts which we have now were specially prepared to withstand the ravages of time and are protected by the use of preservatives. In spite of the precautions, time has told upon many of them. The untanned and ordinary paper manuscripts did not stand more than 500 years. Hence we do not get ordinary dated manuscripts which are older than 500 years either in the North or in the South. When a date occurs in the Manuscript, the scribe invariably quotes at the end of the manuscripts the date of the completion of the copying, the Era, the month, the bright or the dark fortnight, the day, the asterism, the place of the country ruled by the then Raja, and his own heredity if he is a famous man. He also points out for whose benefit the copy is intended and whether it is private or public. This gives us the then current date accurately if we take the trouble to calculate these with the assistance of the late Swami Kunnu Pillai's Ephemeris or nautical almanac. The reference to the then ruling prince in India at that particular place provides very useful information for our historical purposes, just as we get authentic information from stone and copper-plates. In a few manuscripts, the date of the work is also mentioned. As regards the Eras (Samvatsara and Saka) we find the Samvatsara first mentioned by Varahamihira and Arya Bhatta in their respective works, the dates being 499 and 504 A.D. Before that time we do not know what Era was prevalent in India, as we do not have any manuscript records. Again Bhattotpala mentions the ninth century in his works. From the tenth century forward we have plenty of authenticated dates of the Eras. Such is the history of our palm-leaf and paper manuscripts with scripts and dates.

It is not unknown to those who are engaged in the examination of Manuscripts that the task of identifying the names of works and their authors in the case of fragmentary Manuscripts is really a difficult one. It will also be noticed that identification of real names is, at times, quite difficult even in cases where names do occur. For these names are sometimes misleading referring as they do to the titles of particular sections of the works and not to the titles of the works themselves. Confusion created by the occurrence of different names in different Manuscripts of the same work is also not rare. For instance, Visvanath's Muktavali goes by several names, as Karikavali, Siddhanta muktavali, Nyaya-siddhanta muktavali, Bhashaparicheda. The difficulties involved in the identification of the names of the authors is due to several causes. Some Manuscripts do not refer to the names of the authors in the colophon. This has led to great confusion with regard to the identification of the author. Some Manuscripts mention the name in the form of what would appear to be a riddle. In some Manuscripts the name of the author

is not found either in the introductory verse or in the concluding verse. The difficulty is increased, where the pre or post-initiation names are used in different works of the same author or in different Manuscripts of the same author. This has occasionally been responsible for a good deal of confusion and wrong identification.

Care and Preservation of Manuscripts: The preservation of Manuscripts on palm leaf and birch-bark often presents fairly difficult problems. Without proper care and regular handling they stand the risk of being worm-eaten and jammed. Special precaution has to be taken particularly, for Manuscripts on palm-leaf. It is not only more brittle than birch bark and paper but more liable to the ravages of worms. In most cases once a year or so all repositories cleaned the Manuscripts with cloth or with liquid prepared from leaves of certain trees. In some Manuscripts Library, (in Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Library), the Manuscripts are regularly handled and frequently opened, dusted, aired and sunned or dried. The problem of treatment and preservation which is most difficult to solve is that which is presented by Manuscripts whose leaves or pages have got stuck, jammed or crushed. Sometime we come across Manuscripts-bundles whose sheets are but an inseparable mass as well as a debris of crumpled leaves or pages glued together by dried mud. The slightest attempt to open them out result in breaking the sheets into small bits. Exposure to water vapour do not impair the writing but it does not soften the sheets or leaves sufficiently to make them immune from breakage. Then an attempt was made to soften and separate or to disengage them in hot oil.

Paraffin is generally chosen for this purpose because of its clearness as well as immunity from deterioration. The fragments or bundles are immersed in cold oil. Afterwards the receptacle of oil is placed on a gentle fire and heated till only a light smoke came out from the oil. The palm-leaf or birch bark gets softened, quickly ceases to become brittle and become detachable in the oil with the help of a pair of tongs with flat jaws like those used by philatelists. The dry mud splits up easily and it becomes easy to take out the palm-leaf or birch-bark. Each piece, once cleaned, is drained and dried. This method of treatment and preservation¹⁵ has saved some Manuscripts which otherwise would have been wholly unusable. It must be confessed that, on the whole, there has never been any serious attempt to find out a method to preserve Manuscripts in a purely scientific manner till now. It is our good fortune that inspite of the primitive and other methods, the Manuscripts have come down in a fairly good condition. Modern exigencies require that Manuscripts should be treated in a scientific manner, that is in a manner which, while guaranteeing the longevity of the materials on which Manuscripts are

15 For this method of treatment and preservation of Manuscripts, I am indebted to Dr Jean Fibliots, (Head of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts, La Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) Manuscripts on Birch Bark and Their Preservation (The Indian Archives Vol I

written will also preserve their writing so that the Manuscripts might last as long as possible. There is another method by which we can preserve Manuscripts. Really speaking this method is not so related to preservation as to duplication. Microfilmed copies of Manuscripts could be taken and preserved so that both the original as well as the microfilm copies are available for study. But in a big country like India with its Manuscripts running into millions, the problem of selecting the most important Manuscripts before microfilming, would involve a huge expenditure. No doubt microfilming is most essential in case of Manuscripts which are fast deteriorating. While it is essential to microfilm certain categories of Manuscripts such as Manuscripts that are rare and getting decaying, it may not be feasible to microfilm all existing Manuscripts. As a matter of fact, the protection and preservation of valuable Manuscripts is a continuing battle that is won only by eternal watchfulness, frequent inspection, regular handling of Manuscripts and application of tested preservatives.

Palm-leaf and birch bark Manuscripts are often old and preserve texts which are otherwise lost or readings which are forgotten. They deserve very special care by reason of their importance and require the same care by reason of their fragility, so that they may be restored and preserved.

PARTICULARS OF OIL ETC, USED TO CLEAN AND PRESERVE MANUSCRIPTS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES

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|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Government Oriental Library, Mysore | "Manuscripts Preserver" prepared by Mr T S Vasudevachariar, No 1,420, Krishnamurtipuram, Chamaraja Mohalla, Mysore |
| 2. Maharaja's College, Pudukkottai | "Yoco" obtainable from Messrs Newman & Co, Calcutta. |
| 3. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras | Crude Oil or Earth Oil, 'Kilboo' Oil and Sulph arsenic (Prof Sitaraman's) and camphor |
| 4. Imperial Library, Calcutta &c | "Saval" prepared by the Indian Physiological Institute, 45, Dharmatulla Street, Calcutta |
| 5. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Calcutta | "Kilboo" Oil |
| and | |
| 6. University of Travancore, Trivandrum | |
| 7. Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta | Naphthalene powder and 'Tarpauun' Oil |
| 8. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona | Napthalene balls and 'Flit' spray |

9. Oriental Institute, Baroda Citronella Oil
10. Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Citronella Oil and a powder prepared
Saraswati Mahal Library, from three medicinal drugs sweet
Tanjore flag, black cumin and camphor
in equal quantities, mixed and
placed at random amidst books and
manuscripts
- 11 Sri Venkateswara University Crude Oil or Earth Oil, Naphthalen
Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati balls and 'Flit' spray

Care of Paper-manuscripts The preservation of Paper-Manuscripts and documents and their protection against damage done by climatic conditions and insects are also difficult problems. How many are the species harmful to paper-manuscripts and documents. Among them rats, white-ants, cock-roaches, silver-fish and other tiny insects like beetles and book-lice are the most common. Some seek permanent homes among papers, while others stay only for a period, but long enough to do considerable damage.

There are six main groups of insect pests —1 Cock-roaches are well-known all over the world. They disfigure paper-manuscripts by eating the varnish and colour of the binding. Borax is used as an antidote, cock-roaches also have the greatest antipathy for common salt.

2 Beetles are the true book-worms. They do damage by boring tunnels through covers and pages. Paper Manuscripts and documents attacked by these pests, should be immediately removed from the shelves and after proper dusting, refined kerosene oil or benzene should be carefully applied on them.

3 Book-lice are tiny insects that feed on glue and paste. They are not as harmful as beetles. They may be dealt with in the same way as beetles.

4 White-ants are termites generally breed in damp places and cannot stand sun. They live within the walls of buildings or make for themselves tunnels or tubes of earthy material on the walls. The damage done, both to paper-manuscripts, documents, books and furniture, is immense and sometimes irreparable. If any white ant hole is detected, kerosene oil should immediately be spread over it. D.D.T and Gammaxene powder also give satisfactory results. Often, however, it will be necessary to take the aid of specialists in pest control to overcome this menace.

5 Moths are small insects related to butterflies and their larvae feed on cloth, wool and leather used in binding.

6 Mildew and Foxing. These minute vegetable growth generally thrive on old objects and in damp places. The best way to protect paper-manuscripts and documents against these diseases is to keep them in a comparatively dry place and to rub leather bindings with birch or cedar oil from time to time.

Paper-manuscripts and documents which rarely receive air and light should at intervals be exposed to the morning sun for a few minutes. Leather bound paper-manuscripts should not be so exposed. The period of exposure should be very short, viz., 3 to 5 minutes. Over-exposure will damage considerably both binding and paper.

Finally, as a preventive against insects, the library should be dusted with D D T powder and sprayed with Flit at regular intervals. Camphor, naphthalene, borax etc., in little linen bags, should be kept on the shelves.

The idea of search for Manuscripts and cataloguing them, it may be pointed out, had been taken up by the Government of India about ninety years ago, in pursuance of which a number of catalogues, descriptive or otherwise have been prepared and are being still prepared in various States of India. The work began in right earnest from the year 1870 A D and it is high time to take stock of what has been done. Speaking in round numbers, Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts library has collected about 40000, minus the Brown's collection, amounting to 2500, collected previous to this period. In South India, Madras published (1) two big volumes of complete lists of Manuscripts in each private library examined by Pandits engaged in the search arranged by districts, ed. by Oppert, (2) three volumes of report by (Hultzsch) on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India with a preface, a list of Manuscripts examined and interesting extracts from them. These volumes are accompanied by an alphabetical list of works and authors, two volumes of Reports on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts, with a list of acquisitions and extracts, (4) Thirty-two volumes of Descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, besides several Vols. of Descriptive catalogues of the Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, has collected about 30000 Manuscripts and has published eighteen volumes of Descriptive catalogues of the Sanskrit Manuscripts accompanied by an alphabetical list of works and authors. A Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at Maharaja's Palace Library and the Curator's Library in Travancore has been published. The Sanskrit Manuscripts deposited at Adyar Library have also been catalogued and a number of Descriptive catalogues have also been published. The Sanskrit works in the Saraswati Bhandaram Library of the Maharaja of Mysore have been catalogued. A search was constituted for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg and a catalogue published. The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, has published a catalogue of its entire collection.

Bengal has published eighteen volumes of catalogues, a descriptive catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, Grammar, (2) Fifteen volumes of the Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts mostly in Private Libraries of Bengal and (3) two volumes of a catalogue of palm-leaf and other manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal. It has also published

nine reports giving descriptions of some of the most interesting Manuscripts in the Government collections. It is now engaged in preparing (6) a descriptive catalogue of the entire collection.

Bombay has published (1) sixteen volumes of Reports on the search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay State (composite), (2) several accurate lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in different parts of Bombay, Gujarat and Rajputana, (3) A descriptive catalogue in four volumes, of the Sanskrit Manuscripts deposited in Bombay University Library, (4) a complete list of collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College with an Index. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has published some 18 volumes of Descriptive catalogues of Government Manuscripts collection deposited in the Institute. The United Provinces have published (1) ten parts of a catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in North-Western Provinces, and (2) several lists of Manuscripts acquired for Government and deposited in the Saraswati Bhavan at Benares.

Central Provinces have published a catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Central Provinces. Oudh has published twenty-two parts of a catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh. The example of the department of search and cataloguing was eagerly followed by others. The Sanskrit College at Calcutta has published a descriptive catalogue of its Manuscripts amounting to about 5000. A part of the extensive collection in the Bikanir amounting about 7000, has been given a Descriptive catalogue. Sanskrit Manuscripts at Gaekwad's Library in Baroda has also been issued in two big volumes, beside a Descriptive catalogue of all the Manuscripts. The entire collection at Alwar has been catalogued. The Sanskrit Manuscripts deposited in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir have also been catalogued. Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in India Office Library at London has been published in 7 vols.

The work done by the collection and cataloguing of Manuscripts and others following its example is very creditable indeed for those that are engaged in it, be they European or Indian scholars but much yet remains to be done. In the Durbar Library of Nepal itself there are 16000 Sanskrit Manuscripts, not to mention the entire Kanyur-Tangur collections of the Tibetan and the entire Chinese Tripitaka. Of these 16000 Manuscripts, only a thousand, mostly palm-leaf, have been catalogued bringing to light a whole literature of different schools of Buddhism and Tantras.

Three volumes of *Catalogus Catalogorum* by Dr. Aufrecht register about forty-five thousand Sanskrit works at a moderate estimate, and they are all Hindu works. Buddhists and Janas find no place in them. From this fact the extent of Sanskrit literature can very well be imagined, as also the extent of education and culture in ancient India. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* published under the auspices of Madras University with Dr. V. Raghavan, as editor, is bound to be an excellent, complete and up-to-date register of

Sanskrit and allied works and authors The volume of Manuscripts which has become available since the completion of Dr Aufrecht's monumental work more than seventy years ago is so vast and so wildly scattered that it has been felt for sometime a supplementary work was necessary The method which has been adopted in this volume answers all purposes We look forward to the continuation of this exhaustive Index to Oriental literature

A good deal has been done but much work lies ahead of us in the fields of collecting, preserving and interpreting Manuscripts. With the disappearance of Indian States, the patronage that had been given to the collection and interpretation of Manuscripts has also disappeared, with the result the Oriental Manuscripts repositories in the various defunct Indian States, are in a very deplorable conditions Unless the new State Governments which have incorporated the old Indian Princely States, speedily come to their rescue, there is every likelihood of their being lost to us and to posterity But a change had come over the spirit of learning in India From Oriental it was rapidly turning into Occidental Science and Technology, Commerce and other subjects are engaging their attention, with the result that the various Oriental Manuscripts repositories threaten to sink with no song sung for them.

After Independence the learned institutions have likewise been carrying on a precarious existence In some cases, no doubt, one or two State Governments have come to the rescue of these learned bodies but more financial help is needed, if they are to function properly in the matter of collecting, preserving, cataloguing and interpreting rare manuscripts

We have stated before that a report of the work done in different parts of the country relating to the collecting and preservation of Manuscripts was issued by the Central Government in 1878 It is a matter of great regret that since then no other report of the type has been compiled or published Some provincial reports have, of course, been published from time to time giving account of only the work done under Government auspices Thus we have little idea about Manuscripts collection even in public libraries and research institutions A general survey of these collections of which there are a fairly large number in different parts of the country will be highly welcome and useful to scholars Different Library Associations, busy in collecting materials for the preparation of Directories of Libraries, may do a service to Indology if they include within the province of their investigation not only the libraries of printed books but also those of Manuscripts, some of which are attached or included in the former As a matter of fact, such a survey is essential for the preparation of this edition

SRI KRISHNA IN TELUGU LITERATURE

BY

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Of all the avataras, Sri Krsnavatara receives a unique treatment in Indian literatures. The grandeur and the divinity of Sri Krsna as the manifestation of Mahavisnu, is fully depicted in some of the Sanskrit Puranas. In the Telugu translations of those Puranas,—with the exception of Potana's Bhagavata to some extent—we do not find any notable deviation in the portrayal of Sri Krsna's character. However, in some of the Telugu Kavyas and in the Prabandhas particularly, in which the episodes of Sri Krsna form the theme, we find some deviations. It is not my endeavour here to discuss the merits and demerits of such deviations, or the innovations, in the characterisation of Sri Krsna in Telugu Literature. But I would like to point out how the characterisation of Sri Krsna in the various literary works, is fully influenced by the social life and moral values of the Telugu people through the ages. It is a common assumption in literary criticism, that literature is a social product and the study of literature should be based on the social history of the people. The poet, even if he chooses to live in the Ivory Tower, never fails to give expression to the collective aspirations and ideals of his society in the characters he creates.

Broadly speaking the development of Telugu literature in past may be divided into four periods—namely (1) The Age of Puranas (2) The Age of Kavyas (3) The Age of Prabandhas and (4) The Age of Southern school of Telugu literature. Though this four-fold division is based mainly on literary form and chronology, it correlates broadly with the changes in the social history of the Telugu people as well, indicating the political, economic, religious and moral life of the people in general. The portrayal of Sri Krsna's character also falls into four phases keeping in tune with the changes in literary form and content. The fact that the four distinctive phases of Sri Krsna hold good chronologically with the development of the literary forms and with the changes in social life of the people, is a striking feature in the study of Sri Krsna's character in Telugu literature.

From the point of view of Sri Krsna's character, the Mahabharata of the Kavitraya and the Harivamsas of Errana and Nachana Soma are important among the works of the first period. It was not the intention of the translators of Mahabharata and Harivamsa to give literal translations. Instances of deviation, either in the method of narration or in description are found, but not in the characterisation of Sri Krsna. In the portrayal of Sri Krsna, the poets kept up their ideal to the original and depicted him as an "Avatar."

To make the Telugu people share the spiritual and cultural content of the Puranas was the ideal of the poets of this period. Ethical and spiritual life of the individual was highly respected in society. The translators of Mahabharata expressed universal ideas and higher values in the character of Sri Krsna. Tikkana, particularly, had the life-mission of reinforcing the society with 'Advaita' and religious harmony. Divinity combined with legendary grandeur is the first phase of Sri Krsna's character in Telugu literature.

As we enter the next period, namely the Age of Kavyas, we find a different phase of Sri Krsna's character. The Muslim invasion and the fall of Kakatiya empire in the 14th century resulted in the rise of different Kingdoms in Andhra. After the fall of Kakatiyas, the Reddi Kings wielded great power for more than a century. Having consolidated their Kingdom and established peace in their territory, the Reddi Kings gave liberal encouragement to arts and letters. The Kings themselves were great connoisseurs of poetry, music and drama. The poets had an honoured place in the Royal courts. The Kings had aesthetic and sensuous attitude towards life. They popularised Vasantotsava, the Spring festival, as the festival of the state, thus making the people indulge in gay and amorous aspects of life. The Kings, the Chiefs, and the people sought worldly pleasures. The great ideals of virtuous and dharmaic life were slackened. Poets of the period, particularly Srinadha, the poet-laureate of the Reddi Kings, reflect the ethical and moral standards of the people. Even the divine characters in the works of this period are brought into harmony with such a social life. Siva in Bhimeswara Purana, surreptitiously goes out through the back door in the middle of the night in search of dancing girls in Draksharama, and thus successfully cheats his consort Parvati. Siva in Haravilasa is also an example to show how gods and angels were made to act in accordance with the amorous desires of the people of the period. In translating Bhagavata, the poet Potana of this period has taken some liberty in depicting the character of Sri Krsna. Potana has shown deviations particularly in the episodes of Vastrapaharanam, Rasalila and Rukmini Kalyanam. Unlike in the original, Potana lays more emphasis in depicting such aspects of Bala Krsna and Gopika-Krsna. It may be argued that Rasalila and other Krsna lilas are the manifestations of Bhakti Bhava towards the Divine Entity. Arguments apart, one cannot but see the highly amorous way in which the character of Sri Krsna is portrayed in these episodes, compared with the original. Such a characterisation of Sri Krsna is only a reflection of the social taste of the period. In the episode of Vastrapaharana, which is different from the original, Sri Krsna is depicted as a Peeping Tom who takes delight in looking at the bathing beauties and mischievously stealing their clothes, in order to look at them as Nature made them. The episode of Sri Krsna's marriage with Rukmini is also unique in one respect. Unlike in the original, a brahmin match-maker is introduced in the story. He goes, to Sri Krsna, on behalf of Rukmini and sings her physical charm and beauty to rouse love thoughts in Krishna's mind. This innovation and the narration

of the episode points out the fact that the divinity and grandeur of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as an 'Avatar' is thrust into the back-ground, while the amorous and romantic exploits receive greater attention. To a great extent, the phase of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's character in Telugu Bhagavata is that of a Prince-charming who can allure any woman, young or old, by the charm of his valour and beauty. The contrast between Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Mahabharata and Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Bhagavata, is clearly an indication of the changes in the ethical and moral values of the people with time.

The 16th century is said to be the golden age in the political and literary history of the Andhras. The expansion of Vijayanagar during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, brought plenty and prosperity to the people. Like the king and his ministers, the people developed a taste for poetry, music and arts. It was the period when the poets tried to excel in their artistic talents and literary achievements. The literature of the period flourished in the form of Prabandha in which the poets projected their aesthetic and erotic attitude towards life, in the characters they created or depicted therein. The legendary characters like Manu, Vasuraja, Pradyumna were modelled according to the contemporary princes and kings. Polygamy, as it was prevalent at the time, was justified through these characters. The legendary grandeur and dignity of an Avatar like Śrī Kṛṣṇa was thrown into the back-ground and his character was brought to a mundane level. In the story of Parijata-pāharana, many purposeful deviations and innovations are introduced by the poet, which reflect the palace life of Vijayanagar Kings. Satyabhama, one of the eight important spouses of Śrī Kṛṣṇa—not to mention the 16,000 other women he has—becomes jealous and provoked on hearing that Rukmīni was favoured with a flower by Śrī Kṛṣṇa. As the last effort at reconciliation, poor Kṛṣṇa falls on her feet, and she readily favours him with a kick on his head, bursting, at the same time, into sobs and tears remembering the insult he had given her by presenting the flower to her rival Rukmīni. Chivalrous as he was, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, happily and thankfully accepts her kick and says,—

“ Oh! curly-haired darling! You look sweeter in anger! How privileged I am, your most obedient servant, to be honoured with a kick by you, so tender and charming. Be pleased with me, though my rough hair, I am afraid, would have hurt your flowery tender foot ”

The descriptions of situations in the story of Parijatapaharana is much identical with the life of royal harem of Kṛṣṇadevaraya, where the co-wives of the king with the help of their spying-maids, vied with each other to have the king in their exclusive possession. Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Prabandhas of this period mostly presents the phase of a Dakṣhīnanayaka, who cheerfully suffers in enjoyment from the multiplicity of jealous wives.

In another Prabandha called Radhamadhaviyam, the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Radha, is depicted. The story runs thus—The valour and charm of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, makes Radha fall in love with him and pine for him.

Narada meets Sri Krsna and conveys the heart and mind of Radha. Saraswati, the goddess of learning, is summoned to act as a messenger between Radha and Krsna. The Goddess of learning plays her part marvellously as Madhuravani and brings about the union of the lovers. We find Sri Krsna in this Prabandha described as a strong and sturdy country youth, whose local fame and romantic exploits makes a girl in another village surrender herself to him through the good offices of a talented lady-go-between. The erotic descriptions projected on to the characters of Sri Krsna and Radha, are an indication of the debased and sexual thoughts of the pleasure-seeking people of the age in general and of the court life in particular.

In another work of this period Vishnumayanatakam, intended to portray the greatness of Mahavisnu, we find a character by name Govinda Sarma. He introduces himself as an employee of Sri Krsna's harem in Dwaraka, whose duty it was to narrate the glory of Sri Krsna to his queens. This character is not found in any of the Sanskrit Visnupuranas. Perhaps he is a type that was existing in the royal harems of the Vijayanagar days. His chief duty was to keep the minds of the innumerable zenana ladies engaged and from straying, by praising the manly virtues of the King. The fall of Sri Krsna's character at the hands of the Prabandha Poets was not yet complete. Further credit should go to the poets of the southern kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura.

With the fall of Vijayanagar in the 16th century, Tanjore, Madura, and Pudukkota in the South became centres for arts and letters. Many of the poets, artists, dancers, and courtesans from Andhra area seem to have migrated to the southern courts and to have sought the patronage of Telugu Naiks during the rule of Raghunadha Naika, and later his son Vijayaraghava Naika. These two Kings were great patrons of music, poetry and dance and also of the courtesans as a necessary corollary. A literary form known as Yakshagana or opera was popularised in this period. Yakshagana is a composition in which, music, dance, and poetry are given equal importance, and generally staged in the royal courts. The Kings themselves were the authors and directors of many such plays. Polygamy and patronage of courtesans were considered symbols of culture. It is said that Vijayaraghava Naika, a great Vaishnava devotee wanted to emulate Sri Krishna by seducing 16,000 girls and adding them to his harem. His 'darbar' was described to be dominated by a large number of colourfully dressed young women. Many of the literary works of this period, whether Prabandhas or Yakshaganas are saturated with the descriptions of erotic activities of the hero and heroine. Sri Krsna was made a convenient tool by the poets in projecting their themes of such debased love. In Rajagopalavilasa, Sri Krsna is portrayed as a Dakshina Nayaka. His eight queens are depicted to be the eight types of Sringara Nayikas. Each of them gives expression to her sensuous thoughts and feelings, and Sri Krsna's erotic play with every one of them is depicted in detail. The choice of the story is itself an indication, that the poet wanted to cater

to the low tastes of the people. The descriptions in this Prabandha are the verbal expressions of all their unsatisfied desires or the libido. The Kings emulated the romantic aspects of Sri Kṛṣṇa's life and the poets sang the same. Sri Kṛṣṇa, the Dharmasamsthapaka, thus became degenerated to a mere Madana-gopala.

Sensuousness and even adultery were prevalent in the society of Naik times. Like the rulers, the people had no higher moral values. The poets, under the patronage of such Don Juan Kings attempted to harp on the ethical justification of adultery. Here again, the poets used Sri Kṛṣṇa as the central figure of their works, and depicted him as an ideal hero of 'Parakiyaśrngara.' Radhikasanthwanam, Sringara radhamadhavam, Satyabhama santhwanam are some of the poetical works of this period in which the authors indulged in descriptions of Sri Kṛṣṇa's erotic exploits *ad nauseum*. Radha was depicted as the wife of a gullible gopa, and having clandestine meetings with the youthful Sri Kṛṣṇa. In Sringara Radhamadhavam, Radha, the wife of a rustic Yadava, and aunt by relation to Sri Kṛṣṇa was unable to bear the pangs of separation from Sri Kṛṣṇa. The sensuous feelings and thoughts of Radha described in this prabandha are far beyond the limits of decency. In Radhikasanthwanam written by the poetess Muddupalani, the story is woven, round Radha the sweet-heart of Sri Kṛṣṇa. She gets him married to her niece named Iladevi. When the newly-wedded were in the nuptial chamber, Radha unable to bear her passionate feelings for Sri Kṛṣṇa gets into their bed-room and occupies the bride's place. We hardly find any divinity or greatness in Sri Kṛṣṇa, depicted in this way. The great Vaishnava devotee Kshetraya sang more about the erotic qualities of Sri Kṛṣṇa in his devotional lyrics. The life of Kshetraya itself got reflected in his songs.

We thus find, that Sri Kṛṣṇa, the Divine, of the Mahabharata was changed and shaped both physically and mentally by the Telugu poets of the various periods to suit the changing tastes and fancies of the people in general, and the Kings and their courtiers in particular.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE ASCENT OF SOMA

BY

DR B H KHAPADIA,
Sardar Vallabhai, Vidya Pecth

The ninth Mandala of the Rg-veda is dedicated to Soma. In the entire Rg-veda there are about 120 hymns dedicated to this God. Statistically, its position is third. Soma is treated here as a god, a plant, and as a juice. Mountain¹, earth and heaven are described as the habitations of Soma. In this article I desire to discuss that compared to the descent of the god from heaven there are many passages in the Rg-veda which allude to the ascent from the earth to the heaven.

In the ninth Mandala, the procedure of the pressing of Soma at times appears to be mystical. Let us now examine the description of the ascent of Soma. In the following passages Soma is described as ascending heaven. 9.71.6; 5.4, 71.8, 11.1, 42.5, 44.1; 98.7, 101.4, 39.1, 25.4, 78.1, 86.7, 107.22. The expression *Devanam eti niskrtam* occurs outside the Pavamana hymns of 3.62.13.

Soma like Agni is a messenger of men to the gods (9.45.2, 99.5). Exactly the same is said of Agni in 4.2.3, 3.3.2, etc. Soma stirring the two (god and man) goes between the two (9.86.42). In 9.12.8 it is said the wise, the soma that is sent flows to the beloved places of heaven in stream. This means that Soma from the sacrificial places goes to the heaven. There, in the extensive dwelling, Soma should praise the gods (9.84.1). Soma, the bull, ascends the heaven (9.85.9). 9.37.3 describes together the rushing to heaven and on the sieve. Soma is sent to the younger side (9.44.2). He sits in the seat of Mitra (9.86.11). Soma goes to the heavenly region (9.22.4-6).

Soma flows forth to the celestial places-dhamasu (9.86.22), sits in the belly of Indra and makes the Sun ascend heaven. Can Dhama be the manifestation, the outward shape? He is made to ascend heaven (9.26.3). In 9.71.2 Soma is described as giving up its covering and comes to the place of the father. The word *Niskrta* occurs 21 times in the Rg-veda. 18 times it is used with the Gen. of the person. Once there is the Acc. for the Gen. Twice the person is the woman. In 1.123.9 we get. The young lady (*usas*) does not violate the laws of Rta in that she comes to the appointed place day in and day out and in 10.40.6. You two, O Asvains, bring forth with the mouth (*ie*, inform) the bees of the honey like the young lady the appointed place.

In our above quoted passage, the word *Niskṛta* is without a person. It requires a Gen. which can be *Pituh*. Soma goes there to meet his father. It raises the question as to who the father is? In 9.82.3 Parjanya is mentioned as the father of Soma. Parjanya is the father of the bull provided with the leaves. On the navel of the earth, on the mountains he has taken up his dwelling place. The adjective *Parnin* and the dwelling on the mountain shows that Soma is a plant. When Parjanya is said the father, it is meant that he generally allows the plants to grow.² Soma, the juice is the child of heaven (9.33.5, 38.5, 89.2, probably also 86.14). Thus, *Pitureti niskṛtam* may mean that Soma after being pressed goes to the heaven.

One can think of Soma going to gods in heaven from the sacrificial place on account of the use of the expression *aṛuh* employed for the process. In 9.63.22 Flow forth, O God, with Ayu. The invigorating should go to Indra. According to the laws may you ascend towards Vayu. In 9.36.6 You mount the back of heaven, Soma, you lord of strength, longing for horse, cows, and men. In 9.40.2 *Dhruve Sadasi* means the heaven. Therefore, the red one should climb on his seat, the powerful, the pressed one should go to Indra. He should sit on the constant seat. In 9.98.3 for *a rohat* we have *Urdhvo eti*. For *Induh Urdhvah* in 98.3 we have in 7.31.9 *Indavah urdhvasah*.

Naturally, this ascent of Soma is a mystic process and that may be the reason why in 9.17.5 *rohat* is qualified by a *na*. O Soma, over the regions of light you shone forth as if you were ascending heaven. At the same time you set the Sun in quick motion.

MISCELLANEOUS II

SUKRANITI—ON ROAD-CONSTRUCTION

The Indians were great traders in antiquity. The various trading centres of the country were kept up in touch with one another by a system of roads. Roads connected the more important commercial centres and it was the duty of the king to construct roads having regard to the number of populous towns.¹ The nature of the roads depended on the places they passed through. From the *Sukraniti*, it becomes clear that every *Grama* and town may have four different classes of roads viz., the *Raja-marga* (Royal roads), the *grama marga* (village-road), the *Veethi* (Street) and the *Padya* (foot-path). In the *Sukraniti*, *Raja-margas* which are to be laid round the palace of the King in the various directions measured from 15 cubits to 30 cubits.² The minor classes of roads are the *grama-marga* (village-road) of 10 cubits, the *Veethi* (Street) of 5 cubits and the *Padya* (foot-path) of 3 cubits.³ Prominent towns should have *Raja-margas* or *margas*, no *Veethi* or *Padya* being allowed in the capital cities. Villages may have any class of roads. The roads were to proceed in all the four directions from the city or the village.⁴

The *Sukraniti* discloses some of the modern tastes in road-building. Care was taken of the proper drainage of roads and streets, and the wholesome advice is given that the roads should be constructed like the back of the tortoise—hard, and somewhat higher at the middle than at the sides where they were to slope. They should also be provided with drainage channels on both sides.⁵ By this device the mire and the ruts of the rainy season were avoided.

Roads were, some of them—very long. According to Greek travellers the Royal Road of Pataliputra extended over hundreds of miles. Megasthenes⁶ makes mention of the milestones on the road to indicate distances between places and sign-posts gave the facility for the traveller to know in what direction his destination lay. It was also recognised as a principle that shade-giving trees should be planted on the roads that the fatigue of the weary traveller may be mitigated. It was also the duty of the State to build *Serais* or rest-houses for the traveller.⁷ The Edicts of Asoka proclaim that *Panthasalas* were to be constructed on all the roads, of the Empire, and we read,⁸

1 Sukra, I 526

2 Sukra, I 519 ff

3 Ibid, I 525

4 Ibid, I 527 f

5 Ibid, I 531 and 532

6 Megasthenes, Fragment 34

7 See *Infra*, Sukraniti, I 513

8 Pillar Edict VII and Rock Edict, II cited in Smith's *Early History of India*
Harsha was a copy of Asoka in this respect

“ On the roads I have had banyan-trees planted to give shade to man and beast, I have had groves of mango-trees planted, and at every half *Kos* I have had wells dug Rest-houses have been erected and numerous watering-places have been prepared here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast ” The *Sukraniti*⁹ says that between every two villages a *Serai* was to be constructed which was to be cleaned every-day The protection of roads was a kingly duty, and those that molested the travellers on their way were very severely punished¹⁰ The roads were to be kept free from thieves and vagabonds and the watchman had to visit them every half *Yama*¹¹ The *serais* and the rest-houses on the roads were to be well-governed by village-officers, and the following duties are assigned to the master of the *sais* in the *Sukraniti*¹²

He was to note all the particulars about the travellers their starting place, the destination, the number in one company, whether armed or unarmed for protection, whether with conveyance, the caste, the family, the permanent residence etc He was then to give the assurance of safety to them and let them sleep in peace, count the number of travellers inside the house, close the gate carefully and have the *serais* guarded by watchmen It was his duty to wake up the travellers in the morning and having been satisfied that there was nothing wrong with them, lead them in safety to the boundary of his jurisdiction The travellers on the roads were, to some extent, also held responsible for keeping the roads free from danger and molestation of any kind

In the above, two points are noteworthy First, the care for the interest and protection of the wayfarers, and secondly the detection of suspicious and undesirable travellers on the road It was indeed a very high sense of civic responsibility that was expected of the travellers on the road The roads were to be repaired once every year with gravel¹³ It is interesting to note that the king is advised in the *Sukraniti* to employ vagrants and prisoners in these works of repair¹⁴ Is it suggested here that this was one of the ways in which the state in ancient India provided work for these unemployed?

From the *Artha sastra*¹⁵ it becomes evident that every important city had six Royal roads,—three running from west to east and three from south to north The following measurements of roads and lanes and foot-paths are noteworthy Roads leading to *Sayoniya*, military stations, cremation grounds and villages should be 8 *dandas* (48 ft) wide. Those to *Drona mukha*, *Sihaniya*, country parts and pasture grounds shall each be 4 *dandas* in width

9 *Sukraniti*, I 538

10 *Ibid* I. 629

11 *Ibid* I 586

12 *Ibid* I 540—549

13 *Ibid* I 536

14 *Ibid* I 537

15 *Arthasastra*, II,4, p 54

Royal roads were at least 24 ft wide. Roads to gardens, groves and forests shall be of the same width. Roads to elephant forests were to be only half as broad as other forest-roads, i.e., 2 *dandas* (12ft). Cattle tracks measured 4 *aratnis* (6 ft). Tracks for minor quadrupeds and men were of 2 *aratnis* (3 ft). Thus the width of the roads in *Ariha sastra* varied from 3 feet to 48 ft.¹⁶

Thus the nature of the roads depended on the importance of the places traversed by them and on the purposes for which they were intended. The characteristics of roads and principles of their construction are highly scientific.

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SUBHADRA DHANANJAYAM

(A SANSKRIT DRAMA)

BY

GURURAMA KAVI



EDITED BY

K. S. RAMAMURTI

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INTRODUCTION

Sanskrit classical literature is rich in Kavyas and dramas. The field of drama affords more opportunities to a scholar to exhibit his vivid observation of the world and insight into the human nature. This is a stage on which one can uphold or criticise or offer an amendment to a social custom or a political problem or a religious practice. The whole universe is reflected on the stage as in a mirror and changes the face in the required fashion. As such almost all the scholars, well-versed in both classical and sastra literatures try their hands more often at this piece of art than entering the narrative fields of kavya. Hence a number of dramas have come into existence. Quite in keeping with the ideals of the country the themes are generally based on the Puranic personalities, or historical incidents though the latter type can be counted on fingers. Even the social themes are not abundant as in the European countries.

The present poet Guru Rama is no exception to the above. Though well-versed in other sastras, his works are often heard in the field of classical literature only. His scholarship is as famous as his age. His period is projected with the potential personalities and popular polymaths like Appayya Dikshita, Acchan Dikshita, Bhattoji Dikshita, and Jagannathapandita. Though this period is said to be the last glorious one in the history of Sanskrit literature, the magnitude of development in sastras and classical literature is memorable. These glorious external elements were harmoniously blended with the exquisite inheritance of Guru Rama, the practising advocate of the Siva-Advaita school of Srikantha.

Guru Rama's Ancestors.

Guru Rama in his present composition informs that he is a native of Mulanda Agrahara¹ in the Tundiramandala, i.e., in the North Arcot district of the Madras Province. His father was Swayambhu Guru and maternal grand-father was the famous Rajanatha² and they are headed by Sarvabhauma kavi³. These people belong to Kasyapagotra and orthodox and staunch Saivites. Aghora Sivadesika, who instilled Saivism in them was their family preceptor⁴. In the prologue of the same play it is also said that he was the author of another play 'Ratneswara Prasadnam'⁵ and a kavya on the

1 नटी-तस्य कवे वशानुक्रम श्रोतुमभिलषामि

सूत्र - श्रूयता तावत् । अस्ति खलु तुण्डीरमण्डले "मूलाण्ड" नाम महाग्रहार ॥

2 तेषामन्वयभूषणस्य तनुभूरेष स्वयम्भूगुरो ... etc., etc.

3 सार्वभौमकविप्राग्र्या etc , etc

4 तत्र केचन वसन्ति काश्यपा etc , etc ,

5 नटी- जेण क्खु कइणा रअणेशरप्पसादण णाम णाडअ विणिबद्धम् ॥

life of Krishna⁶ and a Champukavya depicting the fight between Siva and Arjuna⁷

The prologue of the drama Ratneswara Prasadnam mentions the same as above regarding his native place, father and maternal grand-father. In addition to this it is also mentioned here that his paternal grand-father was Tyagaraja (प्राचा माचार्य पादाना अनूचानवशावतसस्य त्यागराजाचार्य सुकृतपरिणामस्य पवित्रकीर्ते स्तत्रभवतः स्वयम्भूनाथदेशिकस्यात्मजन्मा राजनाथकवे दौहित्रतानुकूलवाग्विलासः) He also takes this opportunity to mention some of his distinguished predecessors of his family such as Aghora Siva desika, Prasada Vallabha, Dhakka Sabhapati and Bhaskaracharya and that they were always honoured first in the kingdom of Chera, Chola and Pandya (चेर चोल पाण्ड्य प्रथमाराध्यमानाना मधोरशिवदेशिक प्रसादवल्लभ ढक्कासभापति भास्कराचार्यप्रभूतीना etc , etc)

The Colophon at the end of the 14th canto of Krishna Vilasa also mentions his father and maternal grand-father only⁹. He does not seem to have spoken anything of this in his Sankarananda Champu. Though it is not mentioned anywhere here it is also known that two more works Madanagopala Vilasa Bhana and Harischandra champu also belong to Guru Rama. As usual his father and maternal grand-father only are made mention of in the prologue of Madanagopala Vilasa also¹⁰. His Harischandra champu does not mention anyone of his ancestors. It simply mentions only Guru Rama as the author of the text, that he is a native of Mulandam and well-versed in Vedic lore (लब्ध्याग्रहारे काश्यपो रामनामा T C III 2821)

The substance of the above account is that—

- (i) Aghora Siva Desika, Prasada Vallabha, Dhakka Sabhapati and Bhaskara are the distinguished ancestors of his family
- (ii) His father was Swayambhu Guru, paternal grand-father was Tyaga Raja and maternal grand-father was Rajanatha, and
- (iii) Sarvabhaumakavi is the foremost of all

From the tone of his utterances it is also understood that his maternal grand-father Rajanatha was very famous and all others on his side were equally famous. He does not mention any work of his ancestors like Prasada Vallabha etc. Even his paternal grand-father Tyagaraja was not mentioned as the author of any work, though he was said to have made their family great

6 7 and 8, see the verse तेषामन्वय etc , etc

9 पुण्यश्लोकतमस्य तत्रभवत पुत्र स्वयम्भूगुरो
दौहित्र कवितानिरूढयशस श्रीराजनाथस्य च ।

राम कृष्णविलासनाम कृतवान् काव्य तदर्हन्त्वमी
सन्त शोधयितु समग्रितगुणग्राहा दुरुहादृते ॥ T C III 2825

10 स्वयम्भूनाथदेशिकस्य सुकृतपरिणाम सुगृहीतनामा रामकवि and
“प्रस्थानेषु स राजनाथकविराडेतस्य मातामह ” D.C XXI. 8480

Turning to his maternal side we observe that Rajanatha was a famous scholar. History reveals three Rajanathas all told belonging to that family. Rajanatha I whose time was not definitely fixed, might have been one of the early members of the family. Vibhaga Ratnamala,¹¹ by an unknown author speaks very little of him.

Rajanatha, the father of Arunagiri was thus very short-lived. No account of the writings of Rajanatha was given to us. Hence Rajanatha who probably flourished in the 13th cen. A.D. (about 1299 A.D.)¹² must have been one of the early ancestors of Guru Rama.

Rajanatha II is the grand-son of Rajanatha I, i.e., he is the son of Arunagirinatha, the son of Rajanatha. He was also famously known as Dindima kavi-Sarvabhauma, and was considered the second person to possess the title Dindima in that family. He was a favourite of Saluva Narasimha, Generalissimo of kings of Vijayanagar in about 1456 A.D. and the author of a kavya "Saluvabhyudaya" in 13 cantos written in praise of his patron Saluva Narasimha Raya.

Rajanatha III was the last. He was the son of Arunagirinatha II the Kumara Dindima or Dindima IV, who was the son of Rajanatha II, and was patronised by king Achyuta of Vijayanagar during 1530—1542 A.D. Rajanatha composed the work Bhagavata champu at the instance of his king Achyuta Raya.¹³

In his Achyutarayabhyudaya, the poet mainly describes the South Indian expedition of Achyuta Raya and explains the purpose of this expedition as to restore the Pandya ruler to his dominions. The poem gives a short sketch of the earlier kings of the Tuluva dynasty. It was on the death of Krishnadevaraya in 1530, that Achyutaraya his step-brother, became the king of Vijayanagar.

11 Vibhagaratnamala or Vibhagapatramala. This work gives an account of the family of Dindimas, belonging to Mulandam.

12 The original eight families brought by the Chola king were developed into 21 families. Swayambhu belonging to one of these families had a son Sabhapati and Guruswami and a daughter Abhiramambika. Abhiramambika was given in marriage to Rajanatha of Gautamagotra. Unfortunately Rajanatha passed away when his only son Arunagirinatha was very young, who was said to have been born to Abhiramambika in her 13th year itself even before she attained her puberty. According to this chronicle, the date by that time was 4,400 Kali years about 1299 A.D. Then Abhiramambika leaving her son Arunagiri to the care of her brother Sabhapati followed her husband on the funeral pyre. Arunagiri later by the grace of Lord Siva became a famous poet and a scholar.

Sringara Srinatha of V. Prabhakara Sastrī—Page 172

13 रजनिकरकुलप्रदीप म राजराजपरमेश्वर राजनाथकविमिदमवादीत् ॥

स्वादुशौरिकथालापसुधापूरप्रणालिका ।

कृति कृतिजनग्राह्या भवता क्रियतामिति ॥

सोज्य कविस्तदनु शोणगिरीन्द्रसूनु राजागिरि नरपतेरवतसयित्वा ।

चम्पूप्रबन्धमजहत्सरसोक्तिबन्ध वक्तु समारभत वाग्बिभवानुकूलम् ॥

Guru Rama merely mentions that he was the grand-son of Rajanatha by his daughter, and he was a famous poet. He does not mention any other details regarding his patron or his works. But fortunately, the mentioning of a date of composition of a work by Guru Rama in one of his works, gives us some clue to know which of the above three Rajanathas did exactly become the grand-father of Guru Rama. His work *Harischandra champu* is said to have been written in Kali 4709 i.e. about 1608 A.D.¹⁴

From this it is now clear that Guru Rama lived in the first quarter of the 17th century, no matter, whether this work happens to be his first or last composition, Rajanatha I, II and III, as noticed above belong to the 13th (1299 A.D.) 15th (about 1456 A.D.) and 16th (about 1530-42 A.D.) centuries respectively. Therefore it can be definitely understood that Guru Rama who lived in the earlies of the 17th century was the grand-son of neither Rajanatha I of the 13th or the early 14th century nor Rajanatha II of the 15th century, as it is not proper to estimate a gap of 150 to 300 years between a grand-son and a grand-father. On the other hand the gap existed between Rajanatha III of the 16th century and Guru Rama of the 17th century is plausible as it roughly covers sixty to seventy years only. In the light of this it may be safely presumed that Guru Rama was the grand-son of Rajanatha III, the poet-laureate of Achyutadeva Raya of Tuluva dynasty, and the son of Kumara Dindima and the author of *Bhagavata champu* and *Achyutarayabhyudaya*.

The family members of Rajanathas continuously enjoyed the patronage of Vijayanagar emperors. The family was specially famous for their erudition, titles and other paraphernalia they used to command and enjoy under those Vijayanagar emperors. Specially the title *Sarvabhauma* and the beat of Dindima proclaiming their paramount superiority over other sanskritists of the day are worth mentioning here. A glance at their genealogy reveals that Rajanatha III's (the grand-father of Guru Rama) father was Arunagirinatha. He was also known as Kumara Dindima or Dindima IV. He was a native of Parendra Agraharam and was patronised by Veeranarasimha and Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar. Veera Narasimha was on the throne of Vijayanagar from 1505 to 1509 and Krishna Raya from 1509 to 1530 A.D. He was the author of *Veerabhadravijaya* and bore the titles Dindima Kavi-Sarvabhauma and Kavirajaraja. In his *Veerabhadravijaya* he clearly mentioned his genealogy that his father was Rajanatha (II) and mother was Durgadevi and his grand-father was Arunagirinatha who bore the title Dindima kavi Sarvabhauma¹⁵ and he was a scholar in six languages.

14 कलेर्युगस्य वर्षेषु गतेषु सनधा(था)घुषु ।

हरिश्चन्द्रचरित्राख्यमेतच्चम्पु विनिमितम् ॥ T C III 2821

15 Colophon— चतुर्थोऽङ्कः —

बिरुदकविपितामहस्य बिरुदडिण्डिमव्याजसन्ताडितविमतकविगण्डमण्डलस्य डिण्डिमकवि-
सार्वभौमस्य श्रीमतोऽरुणगिरिनाथस्य पौत्रेण, विचित्रतरचित्रयमककाव्यधूर्वहस्याप्रतिरूपबहुरूपक-
ष्टिकौशलपरमेष्ठिन परममाहेश्वरस्य कविताचातुर्यधुर्यस्य राजनाथाचार्यस्य पुत्रेण, पवित्र-

Rajanatha II was the father of Kumara Dindima. He was said to have received honours of precedence from the kings of Chera, Chola and Pandya. He commanded new titles because of his proficiency in histrionics, languages, and philosophy¹⁶. He was a favourite of Saluva Narasimha, Generalissimo of kings of Vijayanagar in about 1456 A D. His work Saluvabhyudaya in 13 cantos describes the achievements of Saluva Narasimha and his ancestors.

Rajanatha's father was Arunagirinatha. He was in the court of Praudha-deva Raya or Deva Raya II of Vijayanagar during 1422—1448 A D. He was a famous poet and a commentator and his fame was always proclaimed by a beat of the drum. He was therefore called Dindima Kavi Sarvabhauma. He was the author of Somavalli Yoganandam, a Prahasana. Arunagiri was considered the head of Parendra Agrahara. He was the son of Rajanatha desika, and the grand-son of Sri Kavi Prabhu. Dindima Prabhu was the father of his mother Abhirama Nayikamba and his maternal uncle was

तरगौतमगोत्रेण गङ्गातटालङ्कारगौडदेशरत्नापीडवैरन्ध्याग्रहारमौलिमणिना, दुर्गादेवीस्तनन्धयेन
मे षड्भाषासार्वभौमेन, कुमारडिण्डिमकविनारुणगिरिनाथेन प्रणीतो वीरभद्र-
विजयो नाम डिमप्रबन्धस्समाप्तोऽयम् ॥

T C III 2834

16 इति मण्डलीकमलवरगण्ड मेदिनीमीसरगण्ड राजपक्षि सालुव . नरसिंहराजमहाराजस्य चरिते द्वादशदेश्यवृत्तिपारदृश्वनोऽष्टभाषापरमेश्वरस्याभिनवनाटकभवभूते मघाद्यतिवर्ति चित्र प्रबन्धपरमेश्वरस्याष्टदिग्विजयपटहीकृतविरुदडिण्डिमाडम्बरस्य, षड्दर्शनषण्मुखस्य, शैवशास्त्र-जीवातोरखिलवेदसागरसायात्रिकस्य, डिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम इति कृतापरविरुदनाम्न श्रीम-दरुणगिरीशतप पाकस्य डिण्डिमकविराजनाथस्य कृतौ श्रीसालुवाभ्युदये त्रयोदशस्सर्ग ॥

- (a) बिनूदकविप्रपितामहडिण्डिमकविराजनाथकृतौ सालुवाभ्युदयनाम्न काव्ये प्रथमस्सर्ग ।
- (b) चतुर्वृत्तिसार्वभौमडिण्डिमकविराजनाथकृतौ द्वितीयस्सर्ग ।
- (c) चेर चोल पाण्ड्य प्रथमाराध्यडिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम राजनाथकृतौ तृतीयस्सर्ग ।
- (d) दशरूपनारायणविरुदमण्डनडिण्डिमराजनाथकृतौ पञ्चमस्सर्ग ।
- (e) रसकवितासाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीपतेरिण्डिमकविराजनाथस्य कृतौ षष्ठस्सर्ग ।
- (f) नवनाटकभरताचार्यविरुद डिण्डिम राजनाथकृतौ अष्टमस्सर्ग ।
- (g) कविमल्लगल्लताडनपटु डिण्डिमकवि राजनाथविरचिते सालुवाभ्युदये दशम-स्सर्ग ।
- (h) प्रतिभटकविकुञ्जरपञ्चाननविरुदमण्डन एकादशस्सर्ग ।
- (i) चेरचोलपाण्ड्यप्रथमाराध्य हृदयशिवाभिरव्य डिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम विरुद शोणाद्रिनाथात्मज राजनाथकृतौ द्वादशस्सर्ग ।

Sabhapati-Battaraka His grand-father Sri Kavi was said to have vanquished Nagana-Kavi¹⁷ etc , in a disputation¹⁸

We do not have much material regarding the activities and achievements of Rajanatha I, the father of the famous Arunagirinatha As already noticed Nrttaraja (Nataraja) known as Srikavi the grand-father of Arunagirinatha and the head of Parendra-Agrahara also was a famous poet and a scholar in eight languages who vanquished the great Nagana Kavi etc , in a disputation

Rajanatha I's activities were not spoken of by his son Arunagirinatha For this the statement given in Vibhaga Ratnamala, that Rajanatha I died early, even before the ' Upanayanam ' of his son Arunagirinatha was performed, and Abhiramambika, the mother of Arunagirinatha, followed her husband on the funeral pyre, leaving her son to the care of her brother might be considered plausible¹⁹ In Vibhaga Ratnamala the name of her brother was given as Somanatha Makh²⁰ where as Arunagiri himself says that his maternal uncle was Sabhapati Bhattaraka²¹

Turning to his maternal side it can be noted that his mother's father was Dindima Prabhu and his maternal uncle was Sabhapati Bhattaraka We also note that Dindima Prabhu was a follower of Srikanthaguru and his presence was always proclaimed by a beat of Dindima²²

The works of Dindima Prabhu are not yet known to us But in South India it is traditionally believed that there was a disputation between Dindima Prabhu and Vedantadesika, the great Vaishnava writer²³

Arunagirinatha, Dindima kavi Sarvabhauma II, was met with in a disputation by Srinatha in the court of Praudhadeva Raya II and was vanquished Then the title Kavi Sarvabhauma was conferred on this great Telugu poet Srinatha, along with all other highest honours like Kanakabhisheka etc , by Praudhadeva Raya and the beating of Dhakka, proclaiming

17 He might be the author of a commentary on the Kavirakshasa kavyam

18 अस्ति खनु न(प)रेन्द्राग्रहारनायकमणे सामवेदसायान्निकस्याष्टभाषाकविता-साम्राज्याभिषिक्तस्य, बल्लालरायकटककविकुलगर्वपर्वतपवे नागनकविनागकेसरिण श्रीकवि-प्रभो पौत्र , पुत्र श्रीराजनाथदेशिकस्य, ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डपिचण्डमण्डलितविजयडिण्डिमरवचण्डिम्न श्रीकण्ठागमशिखण्डमण्डनमणे श्रीडिण्डिमप्रभो दौहित्र श्रीमदभिरामनायिकाम्बास्तनन्धय , सभापतिभट्टारकाचार्यभागिनेय श्रीडिण्डिमकविसार्वभौम इति प्रथितविरुदनामा सरस्वतीप्रसाद-लब्धकवितासनाथ श्रीमानरुणगिरिनाथ ।।

T C II 2277

19 " Sringara Srinatham " of Prabhakara Sastrī, Page 172

20 Ibid

21 सभापतिभट्टारकाचार्यभागिनेय । Prologue, Somavalli Yoganandam, T C 2276

22 ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डपिचण्डमण्डलितविजयडिण्डिमरवचण्डिम्न श्रीकण्ठागमशिखण्डमण्डनमणे श्रीडिण्डिमप्रभो दौहित्र सभापतिभट्टारकाचार्य भागिनेय etc , prologue to Somavalli Yoganandam, T C 2276

23 " Sringara Srinatham " V P Sastry, Page 176

the superiority of Dindima was also stopped from that time ²⁴ (probably in the presence of Srinatha) But it seems that Srinatha did not object to their possessing the title Sarvabhauma and the instrument Dhakka. That must be the reason how the later family members of Dindima also possessed these two as a mark of their hereditary superiority This may probably justify Guru Rama's statement—**सार्वभौमकविप्राग्रचाः ।**

In brief, the following verse attributed to Dindima II may be looked into to understand the superior airs assumed by the Dindimas —

“अग्रे डिण्डिमताडन तत इतो वन्दिद्रजोद्धोषण
द्वित्राणि : कियन्ति बिरुदप्रोतानि पद्यानि नः ।
आस्तां तावदिदं महेशमकुटीकोटीरकल्लोलिनी-
कल्लोलप्रतिमल्लसूक्तिविभवं द्वेष्ट्यान्विजेष्ट्यामहे ॥”

Sringara Srinatha I' P S Page 163

Regarding the paternal side of Guru Rama very little is known so far From the prologue of his Ratneswara Prasadanam it is only understood that Aghora Siva Desika, Prasada Vallabha, Dhakka Sabhapati, Bhaskaracharya who always received the honours of precedence from the kings of Chera, Chola and Pandya, were some of his revered ancestors and that he was the grand-son of Tyagaraja, the ornament of the family and the son of Swayambhunatha Desika ²⁵ Though Aghora Siva Desika is included in the list of the ancestors here, it may be presumed that he might not have belonged to that family, and he was a staunch saivite who followed Srikantha school of Siva Advaitam He also seemed to have been the head of a mutt of Saivism who initiated the family of Guru Rama into Saivism The utterance “**ये रघोरशिव-देशिकादिभिः प्रत्यपादि नि र श्वरम्**” of Guru Rama himself drives us to the above conjecture that he might be a religious head and a preacher He besides writing many works on Saivagama, commented on a number of works also on Saivagama, in the 12th C A D ²⁶

Aghora Sivacharya belonged to the period about 1158 A D

24. దీనారటంకాల శీర్షమాడించితి దక్షిణాధీశ ముత్యాలకాల
పగులగొట్టించి కుద్యులవినాదప్రౌఢి గొడండిమభట్టు కంచుడక్క-
చంద్రభూషక్రియాశక్తి రాయలయొద్ద
బాడుకొల్పితి సార్వభౌమ విరుదు etc , etc

For further details See “Sringara Srinatham” of Sri V P Sastri Page 186 etc

25. चेर चोल पाण्ड्य प्रथमाराध्याना मघोरशिवदेशिक प्रसादवल्लभ ढक्कासभापति
भास्कराचार्य प्रभूतीना प्राचा माचार्यपादाना अनूचानवशावतसस्य त्यागराजाचार्य सुकृतपरि-
णामस्य पवित्रकीर्तस्तत्रभवत स्वयम्भूनाथदेशिकस्यात्मजन्मा, etc

Prologue to Ratneswara Prasadanam Page 3

26. Aghora Sivacharya is quoted by Sayana in his Sarvadarasana Sangraha His works are —(1) Kriyakramodyota (2) Tatvatraya Nūnaya Vyakhya (3) Tatvaprasasika Vrtti (4) Tatva-Sangrahalaghutika (5) Nadakarika Vrtti (6) Paddhati and (7) Sarvajnanottara Vrtti

In the last chapter of his work Mahotsava Vidhi, Aghora Siva gave a long list of the predecessors of the Amardaka order to which he belonged. Amardaka was the name of the place in which his mutt was established (श्रीमदामर्दकं नाम ताम भूषितम्; स्थानमत्राभवत् भूमौ भारते मोक्षसाधनम् ॥ तदामर्दकसद्वाम गुरुवंशसमुद्भवम् । दुर्वाससं ऋषि वन्दे शिवज्ञाननिबोधकम् ॥)

Some of the people mentioned in the list are Soma Siva, Uttunga, Purna Sivacharya, Isana Siva, Srikantha desika, Hrdaya Sankara etc. Parameswara and Hrdaya Sankara were his immediate predecessors and their predecessor was Dhyana Siva who was preceded by Srikantha Siva Desika, the expounder of Sivadvaita school of Philosophy. It may also be noted that Paramasiva, the immediate predecessor of Aghora Siva was installed with the permission of Dhyana Siva.

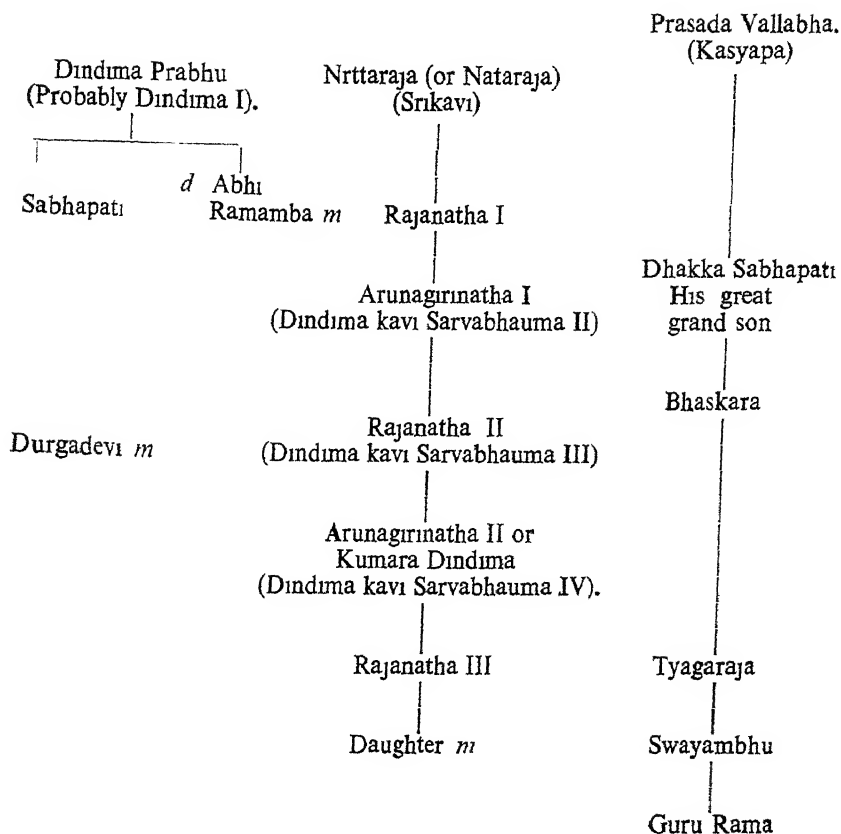
The verse नादज्ञेये शकस्यान्दे वर्तमाने कलौ युगे etc., found at the end of his Mahotsava Vidhi and Prayaschitta Vidhi, he gives the date of composition of these works as 1080 Saka equivalent to 1158 A. D.

Regarding Prasada Vallabha and others it is noted that Prasadavallabha was one of the first eight scholars who were brought from Mandara, a village on the Ganges by a Chola king to his country. He belonged to Kasyapagotra.²⁷ He along with his seven friends first lived in a village given by the king in the Tundiramandala on the west of Alpagiri and named it Rajanathapuram. They also installed Siva under the appellation Rajanatha. In course of time Prasada Vallabha was blessed with a son Sabhapati, to whom the kings of Pandya, Chera and Chola became disciples and who was honoured with the instrument Dhakka. Probably he must have been the scholar mentioned by Guru Rama as Dhakka Sabhapati (चेर चोल पाण्ड्य प्रथमाराध्यमानानां धक्का सभापति प्रभृतीनां) Bhaskara was the great-grand-son of Dhakka Sabhapati. He was said to have composed a Kavya, which is not extant so far. In this family Tyagaraja who established his fame in Kamakoti Pitham, was born and was blessed with two sons Swayambhu Yajwan and Guru Swamy Budha etc., etc.²⁸

This is so far the information about the family members of Guru Rama available to us. Regarding their works and activities nothing is left by any one. Thus the genealogy is—

27 The eight scholars of different gotras well-versed in Saivism brought from Banares by the Chola king were Prasada Vallabha of Kasyapagotra, Bhaskara of Gautamagotra, Rajanatha of Savarnya gotra, Subrahmanya of Sandilya gotra, Jatadhara of Srivatsa gotra, Nilakantha of Bharadvaja gotra, Somanatha of Gautama gotra, and Mallikarjuna of Sankrta gotra.

28 Account given in Vibhaga Ratnamalika Sringara Srinatha by V. P. Sastri, Pages 171, 72.



Guru Rama: Life and Date.

Guru Rama was a native of 'Mullandram'²⁹ a village in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency. We have already noticed that his father was Swayambhunatha and his maternal grand-father was the famous Raja-

29 The creation of this village and the history of its alternative names are interesting. The Vibhagaratnamala states that the village was originally an *arama* of Praudhadevaraya II which was donated to Arunagirinatha, and afterwards came to be called (1) Praudhadevarayapuram, as it was donated by Praudhadevaraya, (2) Sarvabhaumapuram as Kavisarvabhauma Arunagiri was the donee, (3) Dindimalaya, as the title Dindima was common to every pandit living there, (4) Trimandalam—as the brahmins living there were connected with the three lands of Chola, Chera and Pandya—This has an alternative explanation that it was also called Trimandalam, as the Pandits belonging to the three villages Attiyur, Puttur, and Mettapadi lived in that village and (5) Mulandam—as it happened to be the place of Mulas or Pandits.

प्रौढदेवो ददौ यस्मा त्रौढदेवपुर भवेत् ।

सार्वभौम स्वय कर्ता सार्वभौमपुर तत ॥

यत्र स्थिताना विदुषा सामान्य डिण्डिम यत ।

डिण्डिमालयमित्यस्य नाम प्रोक्त तृतीयकम् ॥

चोलेषु चरेषु च पाण्ड्यभूमौ त्रिमण्डलीवृत्तिजुषा द्विजन्मनाम् ।

वासस्य तेषामिह यत्प्रकल्प्यते त्रिमण्डल तत्कवय प्रचक्षते ॥

natha III He did not speak of his teachers or the works composed by his father etc His silence over these items gives us a chance to presume that he received his education either from his father Swayambhunatha or his grand-father Rajanatha The same silence over the writings of his father also makes us believe that his father was not a writer like himself but only a scholar Though his paternal grand-father Tyagaraja was said to have established fame and name in the Kamakoti pitham, he also did not seem to have written works either in sastras or in classical literature Though we do not know anything about his schooling, etc we are given to understand that he studied Vedic lore, specially Yajus and belonged to Kasyapa gotra³⁰ He indirectly spoke of his mastery over classical literature also³¹ It is also understood from his own statements that his family from the very beginning was very orthodox, engaged in the studies of Vedic lore and devoted to Lord Siva Aghora Sivacharya, the Pontiff of the Amardaka order in about 1158 A D seemed to have initiated this family first into Sivadvaita school of Srikantha³²

It looks as though the paternal ancestors of Guru Rama were always engaged in preaching and practising religion under the feet of Aghora Siva, while his maternal ancestors were engaged in diffusing the scents of Sahitya in the courts of Vijayanagar emperors The fact that his father was known as Swayambhu Desika and his grand-father was honoured by Kamakoti pitham supports our above conjecture Swayambhu Desika was also called Swayambhu Guru So we infer that the word *Guru* is an epithet acquired by virtue of his teaching profession We also understand that even now there exists a mutt in Mullandram called "Jnana Sivacharya Mutt"³³ the head of which is a *Grhastha* As the practice goes, Swayambhu also must have been the head of that mutt, and his son Rama also must have stepped into the shoes of his father This headship of the family must have brought him the title *Guru* ever since he was called Guru Rama So from this we can infer that Guru Rama spent his life completely in teaching Religion, Philosophy and writing works in classical literature

मूला इति हि विद्वास स्तेषामण्ड समाश्रय ।

मूलाण्डमिति तन्नाम तस्माद्वक्ष्यन्ति वै बुधा ॥

अत्त्यूह पुत्तूरपि मेत्तपाडी ग्रामास्त्रयस्सन्ति विपश्चिता ते ।

येषाञ्च तेषामिह वाससत्त्वान्तिमण्डल तेन भवेदपीदम् ॥

Vibhagaratnamala Verses 116—120

30 वेदेऽधीती स चास्ते यजुषि तु सकले काश्यपो रामनामा ॥

Harischandracharita champu T C III Page 2821

31 काव्यालङ्कृतिनाटकेष्वकुशला तेषा तदा का गति ॥

H C T C III P 2820

32 तत्र के चन वसन्ति काश्यपा श्रोत्रिया धृतशिवार्चनव्रता ।

यै रघोरशिवदेशिकादिभि प्रत्यपादि परतत्त्वमैश्वरम् ॥ *S D Page 4, Sl 15*

33 According to the traditional information supplied by Sri Ramanatha Ghanapathi, Veda pandit in T T Devasthanams, who is the latest member of that family

Though he was a staunch devotee of Lord Siva and was the head of Sarva Mutt, he was equally devoted to Lord Vishnu. An incident reported to have occurred in his life hinted at in his Harischandra charitra champu testified to his sincere devotion to Lord Vishnu also. He was said to have been favoured by Lord Vishnu who was pleased with the elegance and skill of a single verse composed by his devotee Guru Rama, in his own praise with a garland in the midst of opposing disputants. At the same time he was also said to have vanquished his Sarva opponent ³⁴

The period of Guru Rama who thus led a pious and an unostentatious life, in the preaching of Religion, Philosophy, and composing works, in praise of Siva, Krishna etc., is not unidentified. Though he is said to have been the author of about six works, it is only his Harischandracharitra champu that preserved the date of its composition as Kali 4709 which is equivalent to 1608 A D ³⁵ and the date of copying is about 1616. A D ³⁶

Besides this we also find that Guru Rama was referred to in the drama Nalacharitam by Nilakantha Dikshita. Nilakantha Dikshita of Bharadwaja gotra was the grand-son of Acchadikshita the brother of the famous Appayya Dikshita of the 16th cen. Nilakantha Dikshita in the prologue of his drama Nalacharita, gave the genealogy of his family. In the course of giving information about his ancestors, he spoke of his grand-father Acchan Dikshita as praised by poet Guru Rama as—

“ शब्दब्रह्म जगादुषी जगूदुषी वैशेषिकीं सा (से) दुषी
तर्कान्मदंमुपेयुषी श्रुतिशिखां भाट्टे पदं दाशुषी
साङ्ख्यादीनधिजन्मुषी विविदुषी साहित्यमर्माखिल
कस्मिस्तस्य हि शेषुषी नृपसभे नापूपुषद्वेदुषीम् ॥ ”

T C II Page 1601

Nilakantha the author of Nalacharitra Nataka was the son of Narayana and Bhumidevi. He was also known as Ayyadikshita. He was the author of many works. In his Nilakantha Vijaya, a popular champuprabandha he gave the date of its composition as in Kali 1437 equivalent to 1637 A D.

From this we notice that the gap between the composition of Harischandra Charita champu (1608 A D) of Guru Rama and Nalacharitra Nataka (1637 A D) of Nilakantha Dikshita is only about 29 years. The verse, said to have

34 यश्चैकपद्यस्तुतचक्रपाणे र्जग्राह माला प्रतिवादिमध्ये ॥

य शैवडिम्भमविनीतिनिकृत्तजिह्व

सम्प्राप्तिताच्छशिधरात् गुरुरामनामा ।

चक्रे ह्यसौ च हसन जयता दसौ यत्

वाचा प्रबन्धकरणेषु न भारलेष ॥

HC TC III Page 2819.

35 कलेर्युगास्य वर्षेषु गतेषु सनथाघुषु ।

हरिश्चन्द्रचरित्राख्य मेतच्चम्पु विनिर्मितम् ॥

36 नलनाम्नि हायनेऽस्मिन् नलिनहितेऽपि खगे तुलाकुलायिनि

आसीदिदं तु पूर्णं भूते भूतपतिमण्डनवासरे ॥

HC T.C III, 2821

been written by Guru Rama in praise of Acchan Dikshita, also forces us to infer that Guru Rama might have been a contemporary of Acchandikshita³⁷. Hence it can be inferred that Guru Rama's period extended from the last half of the 16th century to the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Guru Rama's Works

Guru Rama is said to have been the author of about six works—(a) Dramas—(1) Subhadra Dhananjayam and (2) Ratneswara Prasadana, (b) Kavya—(1) Krishna Vilasam (c) Champu Prabandhams—(1) Harischandra charita champu and (2) Sankarananda champu, and finally a Bhanam called Madanagopala Vilasa Bhanam.

In the drama Ratneswara Prasadana, the marriage of Ratnachuda with Ratnavali, the daughter of Vasubhuti a Gandharva was brought about by the grace of Lord Ratneswara of Benares. This drama was intended to be enacted during the festival of the Lord Swayambhunatha of Mullandram.

Krishna Vilasam is a Kavyam in 14 cantos. In this the leading incidents in the life of Lord Srikrishna were depicted.

His Harischandra champu describes the leading incidents in the life of king Harischandra of the Solar race, and his Sankaranandachampu depicts the fight between Kirata and Arjuna as in Kiratarjuneeya of Bharavi.

Finally the plot of Madanagopala Vilasa Bhanam was based on the love episode of Radha and Krishna.

Chronology of the above works.

A probe into the chronology of the works of a poet may help us to determine the approximate period of his active life. Though this does not give us a complete picture of his life, it may help us to certain extent to understand the aims and moods of the poet. We have so far seen in the case of our present poet that he was the author of about six works. There is a section of the scholars who held the view that Guru Rama was the author of four works only and the remaining two works, Krishnacharita Kavyam and Sankarananda champu were written by his brother Guru Swayambhunatha Rama or Guru Swayambhu Rama. But a thorough examination of these works, would disclose that all the works were written by Guru Rama only and also Guru Swayambhunatha Rama was not different from Guru Rama.

(1) Guru Rama in the prologue of his drama Ratneswara Prasadana, acquainted the audience with the history of his ancestors and their family in a very vivid manner.

(2) He did not mention any other work in the prologue of this play.

³⁷ Appayya Dikshita the brother of Acchan Dikshita was born in the month of Kanya of Kali 4654—1554 A.D. and passed away in 1626 A.D., and Acchan Dikshita also must have approximately lived during that period only.

The above two points *i.e.*, speaking very elaborately of his family and not mentioning any other work previously written, make us believe that this drama Ratneswara Prasadnam must have been his first composition. His next work must have been the Kavyam, Krishna vilasam. Here also he did not speak of any other work. Though he mentioned Kalidasa, Murari etc., in the usual strain he did not make an elaborate mention of his ancestors as he did in his drama Ratneswara Prasadnam. But the verse—

“पुण्यश्लोकतमस्य तत्र भवतः पुत्र स्वयम्भूगुरोः
दौहित्रः कवितानिरुद्धयशसः श्रीराजनाथस्य च ।
रामः कृष्णविलासनाम कृतवान् काव्यं तदर्हन्त्वमी
सतश्शोधयितुं समप्रितगुणग्राहा दुरुहादृते ॥”

found at the end of the Kavya only informs us of his father Swayambhu Guru and Rajanatha his mother's father. Even here he did not speak of any other work. Probably this might have been his first Kavyam. Though this actually happens to be the second in order, the poet, under the impression that these two belong to different categories (*i.e.*, the first a Drsyakavyam and the second a Sravya Kavyam) must have omitted mentioning the first work in the second work.

Sankarananda champu may come next in the order of chronology. Here also the poet did not mention any one of the above two. In his opinion, perhaps this might have been the first of its type among his champu compositions which are generally treated as different from the above two. Here he advanced a step further in not mentioning his father or grand-father, as he did in the above two cases. This may usually suggest that Guru Rama became sufficiently popular in the scholardom by that time itself.

Next in order we may think of his present work Subhadra-Dhananjayam. After exploring the three main types found in the world of Kavya, again he must have set his hand at a Drsyā Prabandha. The prologue of the play clearly informs us that he already wrote a Kavya in praise of Krishna and a champu-prabandham in praise of Siva³⁸. He also informed us that he was the author of a drama Ratneswara Prasadnam³⁹. These two statements in this drama prove his earlier authorship of the three works (1) a kavya (2) a champu and (3) a drama and this present work happened to be his fourth composition. At this stage he also seemed to have reminded the audience that his father was Swayambhu Guru and mother's father was Rajanatha.⁴⁰ He also seemed to have consciously hinted at the orthodoxal devotion of his ancestors, their 'ism' and their first and great family preceptor. The famous titles of his ancestors acquired for poetic excellencies and their extensive knowledge were also seen

38 काव्य कृष्णपर व्यधाच्छिवपर चम्पूप्रबन्ध च यः ॥ S D Prologue

39. नदी-गेण क्खु रज्जणेसरप्पसादण णाम णाडअ णिबद्ध । S D Prologue

40 तेषामन्वयभूषणस्य तनुभूरेष स्वयम्भूगुरो-

दौहित्र कवितानिरुद्धयशसः श्रीराजनाथस्य च ॥

S D Prologue

in the upper layer of his mind ⁴¹ In the light of these points this drama can be safely said as the fourth composition in all and the second Drsyā Prabandha

Madanagopala Vilasa Bhana may be his fifth composition In this work though he did not mention all the above four he made mention of the drama Subhadra Dhananjayam⁴² (in which the above three were mentioned) Here also he mentioned his father Swayambhunatha Desika and Rajanatha his mother's father as usual in glorious terms Here we also understand that his grand father Rajanatha was famous for his extempore poetry also

So far nothing was said about his work Harischandra champu kavya But peculiarly enough we also note that Guru Rama had an ideal before him in writing works ⁴³ His ideal that he should make use of the talents acquired from Sarasvati only in depicting the histories of either the Lord Vishnu or Siva or any other excellent Soul is understood when he chides those who do not divert their energies in this direction ⁴⁴ The same idea of the poet can also be understood in his utterances,

“ राम कृष्णं नलं वा प्रथितसुयशसं धर्मसूनु रघुं वा
स्तोतुं वाञ्छन्ति सर्वे निजवचसि मल हर्तुकामाः प्रहृष्टाः ”

found in Harischandra charita champu From this we infer that Guru Rama determined to divert his poetical talents only in the direction of eulogizing either a Supreme Lord or an historical person With this ideal he finished depicting the incidents in the lives of Nara and Narayana, and Kirata and Arjuna As he had enough scope before him he must have then thought of writing about the king Harischandra who is universally famous for his truth despite the calamities that befell him

Then came his Harischandra charitra champu We have already noticed that he preserved the year of its composition as 1608 A D In this text he mentioned neither his father nor his grand-father, as he did on the previous occasions He simply mentioned that the author was known by the name Rama, belonged to Kasyapagotra and well-versed in Veda specially in *Yajus*

41 . श्रोत्रिया धृतशिवार्चनव्रता ।

यै रघोरशिवदेशिकादिभि प्रत्यपादि परतत्त्वमैश्वरम् ॥

सार्वभौमकविप्राग्रचा वश्यवाचो बहुश्रुता ॥

S D Prologue

42 ख्यापित च सुभद्राधनञ्जयनाम्नि नाटके तस्य कवेस्सङ्कल्पितम् ।

Madana Gopala Vilasa Bhana, Prologue.

43 *Ibid*

44 देवी वाचमुपास्य केचन

पुण्यश्लोकजनस्य वा भगवत्तश्शौरे पुरारेरपि

श्लाघ्या सा

. सन्दर्भमभ्यस्यति ॥ *S D Prologue*

(probably he belonged to this Sakha) and a native of Mullandram Agrahara ⁴⁵ This suggests that Guru Rama became famously well known by that time, and so did not think of mentioning any other scholar belonging to his family to obtain recognition. With the composition of this work he might have got satisfaction too that the ideal he kept in mind was also achieved. So in the light of the above we may conclude that the work *Harischandra charita champu* might be the last work of Guru Rama and no other work after this has come down to us.

Authorship.

The catalogues of the Madras Oriental Manuscript Library mention Guru Rama as the author of *Ratneswara Prasadanam*, *Subhadra Dhananjayam*, *Madanagopala Vilasam* and *Harischandra Charita Champu* and Guru Swayambhunatha Rama as the author of *Krishna Vilasa Kavyam* and *Sankarananda Champu*. Dr M Krishnamacharya in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* follows the same method. In the genealogy of the family of Guru Rama he showed Guruswayambhunatha Rama as the first son of Swayambhu Guru and Guru Rama as his second son. Prof P P S Sastri in his edition of *Ratneswara Prasadanam* mentions Guru Rama as the author of *Vibhaga-Ratnamalika* also.

We do not exactly understand the source of their information. The prologues of the *Ratneswara Prasadanam*, *Subhadra Dhananjayam*, *Madanagopala Vilasam*, and *Harischandra Charita Champu*, mention Rama Kavi or Guru Ramakavi as the author ⁴⁶. Though there is difference in the names found in different copies, ignoring this, scholars have justifiably attributed the authorship of these four works to one and the same poet. But the colophons of *Krishna Vilasa* and *Sankarananda Champu* mention Guruswayambhunatha Rama as the author ⁴⁷. The words Guru Swayambhu or Guruswayambhunatha which were prefixed to the name Rama gave rise to this conjecture.

45 मूलाण्डाख्याग्रहारे

वेदेश्वीती सचास्ते यजुषि तु सकले काश्यपो रामनामा ॥ *HC TC III, 2818.*

- 46 गुरुरामनामा गुरुकुलोत्तस । स एवास्य प्रबन्धा नाटकस्य } —*Rat Prasadanam*
 (a) पाठान्तर तु । रामकवि स एवास्य प्रबन्धा नाटकस्य }
 (b) .. काश्यपगोत्रस्य गुरुरामस्य कृतिस्सुभद्राधनञ्जयम् } —*Subhadra-Dhananjayam*
 पाठान्तर तु । तत्रभवतो रामकवे कृतिस्सुभद्राधनञ्जयम् }
 (c) स्वयम्भूनाथदेशिकस्य सुकृतपरिणाम सुगृहीतनामा रामकवि ।

Madana Gopala Vilasam

(d) वेदेश्वीती काश्यपो रामनामा ॥ *Harischandra charita champu*

- 47 (a) इति श्रीगुरुस्वयम्भूनाथरामकृतौ कृष्णविलासनाम्नि महाकाव्ये चतुर्दश सर्ग ॥

Krishna Vilasam

(b) . इति गुरुस्वयम्भूरामकृतौ शङ्करानन्दनाम्नि चम्पूकाव्ये चतुर्थोच्छ्रवाम ॥

Sankaranandachampu

But in fact these two names belonged to one and the same person As Rama-kavi himself was Guru Rama Kavi, was himself Guruswayambhunatha Rama or Guru Swayambhu Rama for the following reasons

(1) In the prologue of Subhadra Dhananjayam, Ramakavi himself mentioned that he had written a Kavya in praise of Sri Krishna and a Kavya in praise of Lord Siva⁴⁸ As no other works depicting these two stories, came down to us excepting the two mentioned above in which Guru Swayambhunatha Rama is mentioned as the author, it may be concluded that Guru Rama and Guru Swayambhunatha Rama were identical and not different

(2) Rama was said to have composed a work called Krishna Vilasam, a fact noted from the colophon of Subhadra Dhananjayam⁴⁹

(3) In South India we often find the custom of prefixing the name of the father to the name of the son The names Mayana Sayana, Madayagari Mallana etc, reveal the fact that this is a time-old custom In Mayana Sayana, Mayana is the name of the father whereas Sayana is the name of the son In the same manner even in the present case we may think that Guru Swayambhu (natha) is the name of the father and Rama is the name of the son If this is viewed in this light it may help us to conclude that Guru Rama, and Swayambhunatha Rama were identical and not different

At this juncture our attention may be drawn again to the doubt how the term 'Guru' was prefixed to the name of Rama and the words 'Swayambhunatha' were omitted The answer is simple

Tradition makes Rama Kavi a pontiff of the mutt in Mullandrum, now called 'Jnana Sivacharya Mutt' The head of the mutt is said to be a 'Grhasta' or a married person from the beginning In consonance with that practice Rama though a Grhasta, took up the headship of the Mutt after his father which might have brought him the title *Guru* Hence we find Swayambhu, as Guru Swayambhu, and Rama as Guru Rama

As such, on considering the above we may come to the conclusion that Rama, Guru Rama, Guru Swayambhu Rama and Guru Swayambhunatha Rama were not different persons but on the other hand all these names belonged to one and the same person to whom all the above mentioned six works can be attributed

It may not be correct to attribute Vibhagaratnamahika or Vibhagapatramalika, as Prof P P S Sastri did, to Guru Rama Kavi, as the name of the

48 काव्य कृष्णपर व्यवा च्छिवपर चम्पूप्रबन्ध च य ॥

Subhadra Dhananjayam

49 पुण्यश्लोकतमस्य तत्रभवत पुत्र स्वयम्भूगुरो

राम कृष्णविलासनाम कृतवान् काव्य तदर्हन्त्वमी

author does not appear anywhere in the available portion of the text. The text is important from the view point of the history, as it deals with the history of the family of Dindimas, and their relations. So this important historical text cannot go in the name of Guru Rama for the present.

Subhadra-Dhananjaya

The play opens with a Nandi, in three verses, two of which are dedicated to Lord Siva and one to Lord Vishnu and in the prelude it is announced—

- (1) that this play is being enacted in the festival of Lord Venkateswara of the Tirumala Hills
- (2) that one Vijayaketu who was away from home for a very long time had returned and his cousin Manadhana, quarrelling with him for fortune, was approaching the brother of Sutradhara (probably the incident of the coming play is hinted here) who resolved to support his friend at any cost and establish his fame,
- (3) that the audience here wish to witness a play that deals with the sacred story of Krishna and Arjuna, and finally,
- (4) that the poet is one Guru Rama a native of Mullandrum belonged to Kasyapagotra, and the grand-son of the famous Rajanatha

The prelude ends with the remark that they had to leave the place to greet the sage Narada as the melodies of Mahati were being heard.

The *Misra Vishkambha* opens with a conversation between Narada and his disciple. The natural love of Subhadra and Dhananjaya, and the trials of Suyodhana to marry Subhadra with the help of Balarama in opposition to Srikrishna are revealed. We are also informed that Dhananjaya had completed his pilgrimage and was ready to enter the city Dwaraka in the guise of a Sanyasin, on the advice of Krishna to elude Balarama to get their desires fulfilled.

The act proper opens with the love-lorn condition of Dhananjaya for Subhadra. He feels sorry that his mind is not diverted from the sensuous pleasures though he visited holy places like Banares etc., and curses his own state. Vidushaka, his constant companion and confidant, composing him with his encouraging words, leads him to the garden on the outskirts of the city. Here, fortunately they get an opportunity to overhear the conversation of certain ladies of the harem, in a bower and finally feel happy to know that the conversation concerns them only and the young ladies are no other than Subhadra and her companions Vasantika and Bhramarika. From their conversation it is understood that Subhadra also has been experiencing the same state as that of Dhananjaya for him, and in this annoying state they think of the holy and powerful Sanyasin whose arrival is expected at the city. Taking this as a pretext, Dhananjaya who is in the guise a Sanyasin appears before these young ladies.

After the customary rites are over, the young ladies request him to predict what their friend Subhadra is having in her mind and whether it can be achieved. On this the Yati pretending meditation reveals that Subhadra is having Dhananjaya in her mind, and the desire can be achieved only with great difficulty. Again on the announcement of Galava (Vidushaka) that the Sage is an adept in palmistry, Vasantika and Bhramarika show the hand of Subhadra. Now under the pretext of reading her palm Dhananjaya sings of her beauty, experiencing the romantic touch of his beloved's hand. Likewise she also feels the same horripilation which is unbecoming of an unmarried girl and a Yati. When they both are thus experiencing the happiness of their mutual touch it is announced that the purohit Somadatta is coming to take him to the palace in a befitting manner, where Krishna along with Balarama is eagerly awaiting him. On hearing this the young ladies take leave of the holy Yati and the act ends.

Act II

The interlude informs that Krishna has directed Chitraratha, a Gandharva, to the Yati in Dwaraka, when he was approached to free his wife who was made a parrot with the curse of Gauri and who can attain her original form with the touch of the rays of the moon, the crest jewel of Lord Siva.

The opening scene of this act presents the Yati in his intensified love for Subhadra, the touch of whose hand had completely benumbed the Yati. Vidushaka presents the case of Chitraratha who approached him on the advice of Krishna, to the Yati. He then invokes the grace of Lord and frees the wife of Chitraratha from the fetters of the curse of Gauri. Chitraratha then in gratitude, presents him with a wonderful necklace, informing him that it was presented to his wife by Mahendra, who was pleased with her music. He also smilingly makes it clear to the Yati that he understands the real nature of the Yati as the son of Indra, and leaves the place *Suo motto* promising his help at the required hour, as he intends loitering there in the skies only.

After this Krishna and Balarama with their retinue meet the Yati. The course of their conversation is hindered with the presence of Sumantra who comes there to request the brothers on behalf of Dharmaraja to accord them also an opportunity to serve this great sage. Then Balarama, to the satisfaction of all sends the reply to Dharmaraja that they need not feel sorry for not having served the sage separately, as they all belong to one and the same stock.

After Sumantra's departure Krishna curiously enquires the Yati how he is in possession of the pearl-necklace when the Yati unhesitatingly presents it to Krishna on the ground that a Yati like himself does not require it. Krishna also accepts it saying that it makes a good present to Subhadra and the act closes, with the announcement that it is time for midday prayers.

Act III

The interlude presents us the Royal Doctor Chandragupta who is summoned to examine Subhadra on her reported illness. He understands,

on examining her, that she is actually suffering from affliction caused by Cupid. So he is obliged to prescribe treatment with Talismans.

The seed of love sown and watered in the first and second acts, has attained the state of a seedling in this act. As such the Yati becomes much more afflicted and his madness for Subhadra is very much intensified. His condition is worsened with the advent of the spring. In this mood walking in the Pramadyana, he comes to his senses on hearing some sweet voices. Understanding that Subhadra and her companions are engaged in a conversation they listen to it hiding behind. From this they also understand that Subhadra also is experiencing the same kind of pangs of being in love with Dhananjaya.

When the young ladies are doubting the mind of Balarama, his servant maid comes and informs that the disciple of the Yati is spoiling the saplings of Balarama by plucking off the sprouts under the pretext of using them for *pūja*, but they are actually used for preparing a couch in separation. She also informs that she is aware of the fact that he is no other than Dhananjaya in disguise, but promises on the request of others to maintain this secrecy. At this stage Subhadra sighing deeply expresses her despair in getting united with Dhananjaya. On hearing this the Yati immediately comes out and reveals himself to them utter amazement.

This pleasant scene is here obstructed with the announcement that Damodara is coming there to enquire about the health of Subhadra, on his way to the sacrifice started by the son of Sandipini. Then Subhadra and others take leave and Dhananjaya and Vidhushaka decide to spend that night in that bower house. The act ends.

Act IV

The inter-lude of this act gives us the information—

- (1) that Duryodhana is determined to kidnap Subhadra with the help of Balarama in the absence of Damodara,
- (2) that Galava (the Brahmin disciple of the Yati) discloses the real nature of the Yati babbling some thing in his dream,
- (3) that Balarama, on receipt of this news frowns and orders the arrest of this brahmin (Galava),
- (4) that Dhananjaya requests Chitraratha who promised help in time of need, to get over this awkward situation, as he is not in a fit place to show his valour, when Galava is thus arrested and finally—
- (5) that Chitraratha having resolved to help his friend, takes them off from the guards to the Raivataka-mountain on the out-skirts of the city with the help of his magical powers.

The opening verses of this act give us the idea that Dhananjaya is completely immersed in the ocean of love. His love-malady reaches its highest peak and he observes Subhadra's features in each and every object. The composing words of his companion Galava become vain in this state of madness.

At this juncture Kalakantha brings a picture in which some important incidents are painted by Chitraratha. This painting informs—

- (1) that Suyodhana sends a messenger with presents imploring the love of Subhadra,
- (2) that a parrot is made to answer on behalf of Subhadra that Dhananjaya already crept into her heart
- (3) that on hearing this Suyodhana is on his way to kidnap Subhadra and is obstructed at the gates of the city and is bundled and thrown in the midst of the ladies of the harem by Chitraratha, and finally—
- (4) that Balarama also on hearing the news of the insult endured by Suyodhana, changes his mind in favour of Dhananjaya

Just then Subhadra and her companions also come there and observe the much emaciated Dhananjaya pining away for Subhadra. Dhananjaya being unable to withstand the strain of the mood swoons when the hesitating Subhadra is compelled by her friends to recover him to his conscious state with the help of the pearl-necklace presented by Krishna. Subhadra in apparently reluctant mood places the pearl-necklace on his body with the touch of which Dhananjaya regains consciousness. These lovers are now given a lonely opportunity by their companions by vacating the place under one pretext or the other. Subhadra in this meeting expresses that she would like to be given away by her elders to Dhananjaya.

At this moment they hear a voice that an elephant runs amuck and a female elephant is made to follow in order to bring the male elephant to its original state. Vidushaka and others on hearing this come running to Dhananjaya for help and Subhadra with her companions leaves for harem to avoid unpleasant incidents. Fortunately the elephant runs in some other direction and the act ends.

Act V

The interlude informs the departure of Sri Krishna from the sacrificial ground of the son of Sandipini to Dwaraka.

The act opens with the conversation of Krishna and Daruka relating to the sacrifice they attended. On their way in Brindavan, they hear the notes of a parrot that repeats the words supposed to have been uttered by the beloved of Sri Krishna during their stay at Brindavan. On hearing this Krishna loses himself, recollecting his past associations and sports, and wishes to hear more and more.

After some time Daruka, without the knowledge of Krishna, speeds up the steeds and they reach Dwaraka in no time and rejoice at the musical instruments heard on the occasion of the marriage of Subhadra and Dhananjaya. The whole family including Balarama, greets Krishna on his timely arrival. Balarama suggests that the parents of Dhananjaya should be called for immediately to give consent and on the advice of Sri Krishna, Dhananjaya makes Indra and Sachu appear with the strength of a thought itself to the amazement of all.

Indra and Sachī giving their consent, bless their daughter-in-law Vasudeva, Devakī, Krishna and others also blessing Subhadra offer her their good advices

Keeping them all in this mirthful mood the drama ends with a Bharata-vakya which longs for all sided prosperity in this country

Sources of the Play

The hero and heroine of the play, as we have seen, belong to the families of Pandavas and their chief adviser Śrī Krishna. Hence it can be easily presumed that the play has got its origin in Mahabharata the renowned Indian Epic. The same story is dealt with in Śrīmat Bhagavatham also. So we shall see from which of these texts the author has borrowed the main springs of his drama.

The story of the marriage of Subhadra and Arjuna found in the 4th chapter of the Adiparva in Mahabharata is as follows

Śrī Krishna with his relations attends the festival of Raivataka Mountain and notices Arjuna there. Arjuna on seeing Subhadra there falls in love with her and Krishna on understanding this advises Arjuna to kidnap her, stating that it is in consonance with the practice of Kshatriyas.

The pseudo-sanyasin comes to Dwaraka and is given lodgings in the palace of Subhadra on the advice of Balarama. Subhadra, serving the Yati enquires after Pandavas, when the Yati reveals his real nature. Subhadra then falls in love with Arjuna and Rukmini and others compose her in her miserable state of *Vipralambha*. After sometime Krishna takes all the Yadavas to *Antardwipa* under the pretext of attending Mahadeva festival. The Yati immediately seizes this opportunity and kidnaps Subhadra. But he is obstructed and opposed at the gates of Dwaraka on his way to Khandava-Prastha by Viprthū who is defeated. Again when Balarama is infusing spirit in Yadavas he himself is passified with the combined effort of all.

The brief story narrated in 11 slokas in the 86th Adhyaya of the 10th Skandha of Bhagavata is as follows

Balarama wishes to give the hand of Subhadra in marriage to Duryodhana. Arjuna in the disguise of sanyasin approaches Balarama and noticing Subhadra there falls in love with her. After some time, when the Yati kidnaps Subhadra obtaining the express permission of Śrī Krishna, he is opposed by the heroes of Yadus who are defeated. When Balarama becomes angry Śrī Krishna not only appeases him with his soothing words and deeds but also performs the marriage of Subhadra and Arjuna.

An examination of both the above versions suggests that Guru Rama's text is an admixture of these two, though the disguise of Arjuna as Yati is given in both the texts,

- (1) it is not said in Bhagavatam that Arjuna has taken recourse to this

on the advice of Sri Krishna, but it is said in Mahabharata and Guru Rama that Arjuna took the robes of sanyasin only on the advice of Sri Krishna

- (2) Balarama's advice to lodge the Yati in the palace of Subhadra is found in Mahabharata and Guru Rama but not in Bhagavatam
- (3) The intention of Balarama to give away Subhadra in marriage to Duryodhana is noticed in Bhagavatam and Guru Rama but not in Mahabharata
- (4) Subhadra's enquiry after Pandavas is only in Mahabharata but not in Bhagavatam and Guru Rama
- (5) Krishna's departure to *Antardwipa* is only in Mahabharata but absent in both Bhagavatam and Guru Rama

Topics Omitted in Guru Rama

- (1) The act of kidnapping Subhadra found in Mahabharata and Bhagavatam is absent in Guru Rama, and
- (2) the fight between Arjuna and Yadus found in both Mahabharata and Bhagavatam is not noticed in Guru Rama

Topics Newly Introduced.

(Not found in Bharata & Bhagavatam)

- (1) The episode of Chitraratha, who determines to help Arjuna who brought back the wife of Chitraratha to her original state by dispelling the curse of Gauri
- (2) The meeting of Yati and his disciple with Subhadra and her companions in the Pramadavana before entering the city Dwaraka
- (3) Duryodhana's sending presents to Subhadra with the message of his love for her
- (4) The *Yajna* of Sandipini's son and Krishna's departure to attend the sacrifice
- (5) Duryodhana's trial to kidnap Subhadra with the help of Balarama in the absence of Sri Krishna
- (6) Chitraratha's throwing Duryodhana bundling him into the midst of the ladies of the harem, and finally,
- (7) the parrot's emulation of Krishna's beloveds

In addition to these topics some more minor topics also are introduced by the poet only to suit his stage purpose

Other Plays on Subhadra-Dhananjaya

We can collect at a glance some six more dramas written by different authors on the same theme They are—

- (1) Subhadra-Dhananjayam by Kulasekhara
- (2) Subhadra-Dhananjayam by Vijayindra Bhikshu

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (3) Subhadra-Parinayah | by Nalla kavī |
| (4) Subhadra-Parinayah | by Sudhendra yati |
| (5) Subhadra-Parinayah | by Ramadeva Vyasa and |
| (6) Subhadra-Haranam | by Madhava Bhatta |

Of the above six, only three of the plays written by Kulasekhara, Ramadeva Vyasa and Madhava Bhatta are available with us

Kulasekhara's Subhadra Dhananjayam.

A Natakam

Arjuna enters the hermitage of his friend Kaundinya but observing that he went for his mid-day ablutions, takes his seat under a banyan tree. When his friend Vidushaka pointed out to a thick cloud of smoke he understands that it was created by a Pramatha who was kidnapping a girl. Immediately he saves the girl by threatening him with his *Agneyastra*. Love at first sight starts at this point though she vanished quickly and Arjuna then plans to wait at Dwaraka in the guise of a Sanyasin. On their way they observe a *Gatika* on which his name was engraved. Thinking that it was lost by the girl in the struggle they pick it up.

Dhananjaya in the garb of an ascetic experiences Cupid. Sankarshana and Vasudeva arrive to receive the sage. After exchanging greetings, Sankarshana expressing to keep Subhadra in the services of the Yati orders *Kanchukin* to inform her and lead the Yati to Kanya-pura. The *Kanchukin* keeping the Yati in the Pramadavana, goes to inform the commands of Balarama to Subhadra. The Yati on listening to sounds in a bower house overhears the conversation, and understands that she is the same girl who was rescued by him the other day and that she is also experiencing Cupid to the maximum degree. Their conversation is hindered with the presence of a servant maid who brings a brahmin with the *Gatrika* of Subhadra in his hand. On enquiry it is learnt that he had not stolen it but was handed over by a sage who accidentally found it on the ground and that he was caught when he was in search of the ascetic to whom it should be given back. Subhadra understanding everything, orders his release.

At this point the *Kanchukin* informs Subhadra the commands of her brother and introduces the Yati. But Subhadra at the sight of the Yati, being unable to stand there leaves the place under the pretext of preparing *Pujadravya*.

This act helps Yati to know that Subhadra is not different from the girl whom he rescued. But Subhadra's soul was torn between (1) Dhananjaya (2) the person who rescued her from the danger and (3) the Yati. It is also known that Duryodhana was responsible for the attempt of Pramatha to kidnap her.

The *Gatrika* presented to Vidushaka by the *Kanchukin* in accordance with the desire of Subhadra at the time of *Indram puja*, brings solace to the tormented soul of Yati. Vidushaka also advises him to kidnap Subhadra,

as the atmosphere in city is quite congenial with the departure of all the heroes to some other island and there is no one to obstruct him. Just at this time the girl who enters a bower house alone, lamenting over her miserable situation, and thinking that her present state of mind is unbecoming of her family prestige, tries to end her life. Then the Yati who is overhearing all this immediately comes forward and saves her from her intended suicide. He also, disclosing his identity convinces Subhadra to the Gandharva marriage. Arjuna makes his parents Indra and Indrani come down, and Indrani orders Menaka Rambha etc. to decorate Subhadra as a bride.

The citizens are making arrangements for prayers for the improvement of the health of Subhadra. As she also wants to perform a *Syandana Vrata*, a chariot is made ready and Dhananjaya in it kidnaps Subhadra. But on their way they are opposed by Yadus, Balarama etc., and in the fight between these two Subhadra requests Dhananjaya not to harm her brother who brought her up from childhood. The fight is put down on the request of Sri Krishna who appeased Balarama and Krishna wishes to go over to Dhananjaya's town the next day.

Dhananjaya with his bride waits in the garden outside Indraprastha awaiting the auspicious time, without knowing that the garden is infested with evil spirits. As such Arjuna is made to go mad on receipt of the news of the murder of Subhadra. A pseudo-Panchali also makes her appearance before Dhananjaya. There is an allround confusion, when Dhananjaya threatens everyone there with his powerful arrows, if they do not reveal the truth. On this the real truth is disclosed and Subhadra is united with Dhananjaya and all enjoy the mirth of the situation along with Krishna.

Ramadeva's Subhadra Parnayah

A shadow-play

Arjuna falls in love with a young and beautiful girl whom he beholds in a Leelodyana. As usual she also falls in love with him. Patralekha, a lady companion of Arjuna is ordered to gather full information about the girl. On the advice of Patralekha, Arjuna and his friends Vijayasena and Suniti overhear her conversation regarding her love-lorn condition. Dhananjaya also appears before her to protect her when she faints, being unable to bear the separation from Dhananjaya. On his commands a chariot is got ready on which she is kidnapped. There ensues a fearful fight between Arjuna and Yadus which is finally given up on the advice of Sri Krishna who breaks then the news that the marriage of Subhadra and Arjuna is fixed. The play ends with the marriage.

Madhava Bhatta's Subhadra Haranam.

A Srigaditam

In this play Arjuna in the robes of an ascetic enters unknowingly the house of Balarama for alms. Subhadra when asks the Yati to stretch his bowl, he frowns on her for not observing preliminaries in honouring him, and her friend Sumati passifies him on her behalf.

Arjuna discloses himself during the conversation stating that he put on the ascetic garb only to win her love Subhadra also falls in love

After this Balarama in consultation with his wife Revati starts out to celebrate Madhumasa, taking Subhadra and others with him Subhadra and her friends observe Dhananjaya in a pensive mood seated in the *Madhavi Mandapam* when they go there to gather flowers for the worship of Kamadeva

Arjuna observing them thinks of Krishna's charriot for kidnapping Subhadra Immediately Daruka brings the chariot and Arjuna takes off Subhadra in that vehicle, convincing her that this act is with the approval of Sri Krishna

On receipt of this news Ugrasena preparing all the other Yadu heroes to the war consults Balarama who advises him to wait till Krishna is consulted Krishna having heard all this calms down Ugrasena and others pleading the cause of Arjuna On this Balarama and others keep quiet, when Indra sends two persons to congratulate them on their good behaviour and hand over the presents

Inventions and Innovations of the Authors

Guru Rama	Kulasekhara	Ramadeva	Madhava Bhatta
(1) Krishna advises Arjuna to come in the guise of a Yati	(1) Pramatha kidnaps Subhadra on the commands of Duryodhana	(1) Arjuna is not an ascetic	(1) Arjuna enters Balarama's house and Subhadra gives him alms
(2) Balarama desires to give Subhadra to Duryodhana in marriage	(2) Subhadra admits that she fell in love with three persons <i>i.e.</i> , (1) Arjuna (2) saviour of her honour from the Pramatha and (3) the Yati	(2) A girl Patralekha is introduced as the companion of Arjuna	(2) The Yati frowns on Subhadra for not observing proper customs and Sumati her friend passifies him
(3) Chitraratha's episode	(1) Arjuna (2) saviour of her honour from the Pramatha and (3) the Yati	(3) Arjuna kidnaps Subhadra even without the knowledge of Sri Krishna	(3) Balarama takes Subhadra to Madhumasa celebrations
(4) Duryodhana sends love message to Subhadra	(4) The war with Balarama etc	(4) Balarama does not find a place in this play	(4) Krishna sends his chariot
(5) Insult done to Duryodhana	(5) The acts of evil spirits	(5) Duryodhana also does not figure	(5) Ugrasena wants to wage war against Arjuna for his misconduct
(6) Sandipini's son performing Yajnam			(6) Balarama consults Krishna
(7) Suka imitating the speech of the beloved of Sri Krishna in Brindavana			

The above chart shows that the play of Ramadeva is quite independent of Mahabharata and Bhagavatam. He has taken liberty to present Arjuna in his princely form and to introduce Patralekha as a lady companion of Arjuna. Balarama and Duryodhana do not figure in this play.

Madhava Bhatta also more or less follows Ramadeva in exhibiting independent spirit. The incidents are completely modified. Excepting the figuring of Krishna's chariot on which Arjuna takes away Subhadra and Balarama's consultations as to their future course of action, with Krishna almost all other incidents do not have any bearing either on Mahabharata or Bhagavatam.

Above all, these two plays are only one act plays and do not stand a comparison.

Kulasekhara's work, on the other hand, is a full length play. As usual he also deviated much from the originals. A few of the major incidents introduced by him require special examination in this connection.

Subhadra is portrayed here as having allowed three persons to enter her heart⁵⁰ viz: (1) Dhananjaya, (2) The saviour of her honour from the wretched Pramatha and (3) the Yati whom she serves on the commands of her brother. This seems somewhat preposterous. She ought not have been fickle as an ordinary girl. She is the daughter of Vasudeva and the sister of Vasudeva (दुहिता वसुदेवस्य वसुदेवस्य च स्वसा M. B). Her good behaviour and charming qualities win her even the affection of Sri Krishna. She is a girl who is not for the love of Duryodhana, the Rajaraja, a friend and disciple of her brother Balarama. Such being the case how can she allow her heart to swing on to the side of Yati and others. Though love is blind it can be only for once, specially in the case of high and intelligent. Even the expected dramatic irony does not stop the incoming blasphemy. It certainly tells upon her noble birth and rank and does not befit her status.

In the second place, Kulasekhara, in the last act introduces the element *Adbhuta* as usual. Arjuna and Subhadra, stop in the garden outside the city Indraprastha, waiting for an auspicious time. Unfortunately the garden is infested with evil spirits which bring about a break-down in Dhananjaya on the reported death (murder) of Subhadra. He is also confused with the presence of Draupadi and a pseudo-Draupadi. The whole mirth is marred and even Krishna, who comes to Indraprastha to witness the marriage of his sister is made to follow Dharmaja to console Dhananjaya to the garden. All this seems to be an imitation of the last act of Venisamhara in which Charvaka in the guise of a sage immerses Dharmaja and others in sorrow with his mis-report of the result of the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana.

50 सुभद्रा - मम तावत् मन्दभागाया वल्लभत्रयमभिमतम् ।

यावत् सख्यावागत्य .

Kulasekhara's S D II Act P 72
बहुपुरुषाभिलाषपासुल पापशरीर परित्यक्ष्यामि ॥

Kulasekhara's S D Act III, P 109

This invention helps us to think in two ways—

- (1) that Duryodhana wants to try his luck atleast on this last occasion, as his mission tried through Pramatha in the first instance failed miserably, and
- (2) that it helps the further development of the sentiment delineated in the play

In the first case the character of Duryodhana gets further deteriorated. It is unbecoming of Duryodhana who is well aware of the valour of Dhananjaya, and specially after knowing that he has kidnapped her. Any attempt in this behalf must have been well aimed before the departure of the lovers from Dwaraka. Further, no concrete result has been achieved.

In the second case the *Sringara Rasa* delineated in the play almost comes to an end with the departure of the lovers for Indraprastha. The concomitants still remaining are negligible and do not help the development of sentiment in any way. So in either case this scene, as it is, becomes useless.

Thus Kulasekhara's major inventions may look awkward and unpleasant.

Critical Studies.

Guru Rama occupies an important place in the galaxy of the poets in the period of Sanskrit Renaissance. Though "the fertile soil of his mind does not grow oaks, it allows the growth of fragmentary bushes" He is not a poet of the magnitude of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti but an ardent devotee of these first grade poets. His dramas Ratneswara Prasadnam and Subhadra Dhananjayam enjoy considerable popularity. The popularity of Subhadra Dhananjayam specially is due to the factors—(1) that the plot is a part and parcel of our National Epic, (2) that the sentiment *Sringara* pleasantly pervades through out, and (3) that the beauty of the theme is enhanced with the delicate poetic touches of Guru Rama.

The development of *Sringara Rasa* from the beginning to the end is well maintained with the unions and separations of the hero and heroine as required by the canons of dramaturgy. No character in the play seems to have gone out of bounds. Even the ferocious Balarama, is depicted as sensible and views things from the stand point of honour and prestige. Krishna as usual with his diplomacy always cleans the ground for obtaining the cherished object. Dhananjaya and Subhadra also are in their limits. Their behaviour is decent. Though she mentally gave herself up to Dhananjaya her behaviour towards him, specially when she says that she cannot act unbecoming of the prestige of the ladies of the Kuru Vamsa,⁵¹ to the advice given by her companions to place the pearl-necklace on Dhananjaya who swoons, and when she offers the answer that she wishes to be given away in marriage by the elders,⁵² to the question of Dhananjaya अये, किमद्यापि विलम्बसे ? is well within

51 सुभद्रा — सहि कुरुकुमारीविरुद्धं चावलं कुरु करोमि ।

S D IV Act

52 सुभद्रा — गुलजणेण पडिग्गाहिज्जमाणं अत्ताणं इच्छामि ॥

S D IV Act

the bounds of decency and decorum. The Vidushaka unlike a conventional glutton, is here portrayed as helping the hero in his own humble way, though his innate nature brings about an apparent ruin on them, as seen, when he discloses the secret babbling something in his dream. Like this all others also are well observed in their befitting places.

It is not enough if the dramatist simply delineates the sentiments and maintains characterization. He should also possess the art of dramatic construction. Every incident and episode should have a fruitful bearing on the main theme and every scene that is painted must follow the other in rousing interest. Viewed from this point of view, we understand well that the episode of Chitraratha introduced by the poet serves the required purpose. He is invented to maintain the secrecy of Dhananjaya who makes it clear in requesting Chitraratha to save them from the awkward situation brought about by the arrest of Galava⁵³ when Dhananjaya and his friend are taken to the mountain Raivataka with the help of his magical powers. Even the pearl-necklace presented to Dhananjaya by Chitraratha becomes useful when it is used to restore the spirits of Dhananjaya in the fourth act. Chitraratha resolved to help Dhananjaya in gratitude for the help received by him, obstructs Suyodhana who comes to the gates of Dwaraka with the idea of kidnapping Subhadra ties and throws him into the midst of ladies of the harem.

The painting shown to Dhananjaya, depicting the insult done to Duryodhana serves double purpose

- (1) It creates confidence in Dhananjaya that his rival in this love affair is vanquished and put to shame both by the pet parrot of Subhadra and his friend Chitraratha, and
- (2) the insult done to Duryodhana brings about a change in the attitude of Balarama in favour of Dhananjaya.

Another important invention of Guru Rama is the introduction of the sacrifice performed by the son of Sandipini. Sandipini is the preceptor of Sri Krishna and his son is restored to him from Yama. Krishna cannot abstain from attending it because of the affection and regard he has both for the son and father. Similar situations are met with in other plays on the same theme also and this kind of opportunity is usually made use of by Dhananjaya to kidnap Subhadra. But in this play Duryodhana springs up to the situation to kidnap Subhadra with the help of his teacher Balarama. But as ill luck would have it, he is obstructed at the gates of the city and is put to shame by Chitraratha the friend of Dhananjaya. This invention helps to hold the idea that Arjuna's silence adds charm to his character and behaviour telling upon the intriguing character of Duryodhana. From the stand point of dramatic art it maintains unity of action.

53 चित्ररथ, किमत्र प्रतिविधेयम् ।

त्रासायासविकस्वर स्तवयस् स्निग्धस्य चार्तस्वर

कोदण्डग्रहणाय मा त्वरयते कोऽयं विधे प्रक्रम etc ,

The introduction of Suka (a parrot) in the last act is another meaningful invention of the poet. The reproduction of the words uttered by the beloveds of Sri Krishna by the parrot in the Brindavana, reminds Krishna of his youthful sports enjoyed sometime back. Losing himself in it he at times, attempts to approach the beloved and stops on being reminded by Daruka that it is the parrot imitating his beloved. This situation helps the development of the sentiment delineated from the beginning.

Thus we have so far seen that the major inventions and innovations of Guru Rama are meaningful and absolutely essential for the play. His skill in dramatic art is observed in the arrangement of the scenes which is completely in accordance with the psychology of the audience. The action is maintained unchecked and brisk through out, and on no occasion the patience of the audience is tried with unnecessary soliloquies and improbable incidents. The credit for all this certainly goes to the thorough technical knowledge of the poet.

In dealing with the poetical talents of Guru Rama let us first of all note his own confidence. In the present play he says that his poetry is replete with *rasa*, the meaning shines in different ways and the diction is delicate⁵⁴. A verse found at the colophon of his *Madanagopala Vilasa Bhanam* informs that his poetry is like the Ganges that flows dancing gracefully from the head of *Siva*⁵⁵. Under the pretext of criticising the bad poets he says that his poetry is sweet, free from the blemish of incongruous and inaccurate meaning and elegant in diction⁵⁶.

A close examination reveals that he is justified in possessing that confidence, as he is an ardent lover of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti⁵⁷. Though he is a scholar in Veda, and Philosophy, his mind always runs after the beauties of *Sahitya* only. He tried his hand always at dramas and *Kavyas*. He acquired mastery over the language and can express himself emphatically. Though he is not too simple he is not too bombastic, like the other writers of his age. Though he does not possess the depths of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti the deep

54 यत्र श्रोत्ररसायनात्मकतयोत्कर्षं कमप्यश्नुते

बन्धोप्यर्धविकासिकेसरसरस्पर्धी विमर्दक्षम् ॥

S D I Page 103 Sl 10

Also see sloka 9, Page 4 *Ratneswara Prasadanam*

55 नटनारभटीचटुलस्मरजिन्मुकुटीतटिनीसमवाग्विहते गुरुरामकवे . ।
Madanagopala Vilasam, D C XXI, 8442

56 असत्कवेरुक्वितरसौम्यवृत्ति

भवत्यसह्यम् ॥

Krishna Vilasam T C III Page 2825

57 कालस्य च रविचन्द्रौ काव्यस्य च कालिदास भवभूती ॥

Ratneswara Prasadanam Page 4, Sl 8

impression made by them on him is clearly visible. It can also be safely presumed that he thinks of Kalidasa in *Sringara* and Bhavabhuti in *Karuna*. The fourth act of Subhadra Dhananjaya is written in perfect imitation of the fourth act of Vikramorvasiya. Though the state of affairs regarding the heroines is not the same in both, the state of mind for both the heroes is the same. The state of Dhananjaya in this fourth act is highly pathetic and the audience stand sympathetically with him. The delineation of this pathos is only to enhance the charm of *Sringara* in the fifth act. The conception of the last act is superb. The psychology of pure lovers is beautifully portrayed. Krishna is unconsciously transported to the days of his fresh youth on coming into contact with the good old acquainted places, the pet birds and the scents of the fragrant bushes. All this is only to serve as a practical example of the verse—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुराश्च मिश्रम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुको भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तु ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥

of Kalidasa

The influence of Kalidasa and other great poets is noticeable at every step in *Guru Rama*.

In the first act, Dhananjaya, having heard a sweet voice coming from behind curtains, enquiring whether the statement of Vasantika is true or only of composing nature, says—

अहो भवत्यन्यकरणस्पृहणीयं श्रवणेन्द्रियाधिकार वचनम् ;

which reminds us of the verse

न जाने, सम्मुखायाते प्रियाणि वदति प्रिये ।
सर्वाण्यङ्गानि किं यान्ति नेत्रतामुत ॥

(*Amaruka Satakam*, verse 64)

Immediately after hearing the voice he goes on describing her saying—

रूपोल्लेखं स्सकलमुपमाद्रव्यं साक्षिण्यं दीव्यम् ॥ Act I, Sl 34

The very first line here makes us recollect the verse

सर्वोपमाद्रव्यसमुच्चयेन यथाप्रदेशं विनिवेशितेन

of Kalidasa

(*Kumara Sambhavam Canto 1 Sl 49*)

Again in the same act examining the palm of Subhadra the Yati remarks,

मृदुमध्योन्नतारक्ततलोऽयं ग्रथिताङ्गुलिः ।

सौभाग्यं सूचयत्यस्यास्सुव्यक्तमितरेल्लिङ्गः ॥

which follows the similar expression given vent to by Dushyanta on noticing Bharata as—

कथं चक्रवर्तिलक्षणमप्यनेन धार्यते । तथाहास्यं,

प्रलोल्यवस्तुप्रणयप्रसारितो विभाति जालग्रथिताङ्गुलिः करः । etc , etc

(*Sakuntalam 7th Act, Sl 16*)

The verse,

ध्येयश्चन्द्रशिखामणिः क्व खलु सा पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बानना etc etc
(II Act, Sl 5)

seems to have run parallel to the verse of Kalidasa

क्वाऽकार्यं, शशलक्ष्मणः क्वच कुलं, भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा

चेतः स्वास्थ्यमुपैहि etc , etc

(Vikramorvasiya Ed. by Kale Page 148)

Krishna beholding Dhananjaya who is in the guise of an ascetic remarks that he is beautiful to be looked at (It is pleasing because it is Dhananjaya)

चर्यापि मोक्षसरणे स्सहकृत्वरीय-

मन्येव भाति पुनरत्र भवद्गृहीता ।

(Act II, Sl 15)

The influence of Bana here is noticed in the remarks of Mahasweta regarding Pundarika in ascetic robes,

तत्परिग्रहा न्मुनिजनवेषस्याग्रास्यताम् etc , etc.

(Kadambari of Vaidya Edn Page 148)

In the fourth act informing Subhadra that even Balarama would consent to their love, as his desires are dashed to the ground on the insult done to Suyodhana, he says—

कैश्यामोदकृतस्पृहा मधुलिहा किं वारये पार्श्वयोः etc , etc

This reminds us of the verse

किं शीतलैः क्लमविनोदिभि रार्द्रवातात्

सञ्चारयामि नलिनीदलतालवृन्तैः ।

अङ्गे निधाय करभोह यथासुखं ते

संवाहयामि त पद्मताम्रौ ॥

(Sakuntalam, Act III, Sl 18)

Guru Rama seems to have a special taste for the verse कैश्यामोदकृतस्पृहा as it is found in his first drama Ratneswara Prasadnam also

In the last act blessing Subhadra the bride Vasudeva says—

स्त्रीणामस्तु गुणोत्तरोऽय विगुणो भर्ता परं देवतम् etc , etc (Act V, Sl 20)

which in spirit is not different from

शुश्रूषस्व गुरुं न्कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्तिं सपत्नीजने

भर्तृविप्रकृतापि रोषणतया मा स्म प्रतीपं गमः ।

भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने भाग्येष्वनुत्सेकिनी

गृहिणीपदं युवतयो वामाः कुलस्याधयः ॥

(Sakuntalam Act, IV, Sl 17)

Finally in the same context blessing the bride Vasudeva utters the verse,

परं मित्रं प्राणाः प्रणयपदमद्वैतहृदयं etc , etc (Act V. Sl 23)

which interestingly reminds us of Bhavabhuti's verse,

प्रेयो मित्र बन्धुता वा समग्रा
 सर्वे कामाः शेषधि जीवित वा
 स्त्रीणा भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसा -
 मित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयो ज्ञातिमस्तु ॥

(*Malati Madhavam Act, VI, Sl 18*)

The influence of the older famous poets on Guru Rama as noticed above shows how thoroughly Guru Rama has digested them and made them a part and parcel of his life

The noble soul of the poet is embedded in his culture which is reflected in the verses—

- (१) साधुः स्वोपकृत नैव स्मर त्यन्यापकारवत् ।
 स्मर त्युपकृतं त्वन्यै रुपदेशमिवानिशम् ॥ *Act, IV Sl 3*
- (२) प्रापणे वाञ्छितार्थानां हिताहितनिरूपणे ।
 सदाभिमुखवर्तिष्णु नेत्र मित्र च साधनम् ॥ and *Act IV, Sl 23*
- (३) असतामिव संयोगो वियोगो दुस्सह , ॥ *Act V, Sl 4*

His verses are generally simple and clear The following few verses can be cited as an example to show his elegant style

- (१) अस्मेरकरव etc , etc Act II, Sl 14
- (२) श्रीङ्गालोल etc , etc Act III, Sl 5
- (३) उद्रक्तदम्पतिभिः etc , etc Act III, Sl 7
- (४) बल्लोपादपपल्लवानुविहित etc , Act V, Sl 6

Critical Apparatus

The present edition is based on the following two Manuscripts one belonging to our Library and the other belonging to Sri N Subrahmanya Sastri, M A , (Skt & Phil) Diploma in Ger and French and in Lib Sc , the curator of our Library

I Manuscript-Cat Lib No 7751 S V U O R I

Material	Paper
Folios	10
Size	13"×4"
Script	Telugu
No of lines on each Folio	20 average
No of letters in each line	70 to 74
Condition	Good
Purchased from	Sri G Vasudeva Sastri, Anantapur Dt

II Manuscript —

Material	Palm leaf
Folios	30
Size	16"×1 5"

Script	...	Grantha.
No. of lines on each Folio	...	8.
No. of letters in each line	...	60 to 64.
Condition	...	Slightly injured.

Both the Manuscripts are complete. As usual the writing is illegible and the sanskrit version of the Prakritic passages is not to be found. Added to this the mistakes are too many. As such we may be excused for the mistakes crept in for want of adequate material and time.

Acknowledgement.

We take this opportunity to thank the authorities of our University specially our Vice-Chancellor Sri S. Govindarajulu Naidu, M.A., LL.B., B.L., Bar-at-Law for permitting us to publish this in our Oriental Journal. Our thanks are also due to Sri N. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., the curator of our Library for lending his Palm leaf copy of the drama for the purpose of comparing etc., and finally we are also grateful to our friend Sri N. C. V. Narasimhacharya who extended his help in all possible directions.

EDITORS.

श्रीः
नाटकीयपात्राणां परिचयः

१. सूतधारः	१६. बलभद्रः
२. नटी	१७. सुमन्तः
३. मारिषः	१८. चन्द्रगुप्तः
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१४. चित्ररथः	२९. उद्यानपालिकाः
१५. कृष्णः	

॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीगुरुरामकविप्रणीत

सुभद्राधनञ्जयनाटकम्

प्रथमोऽङ्कः

—

शम्भोः पञ्चसु वक्त्रेषु दीप्तिमन्मध्यमं नुमः ।

अघोरमपि यत्प्राहुरसतां निग्रहक्षमम् ॥ १ ॥

अपि च —

शश्वत्पार्श्वविवर्तनं च्युतिभयाद्धत्ते न शेषास्तरे

गात्रोन्मर्दभयात्करोनि सुमनोदामावृतं कौस्तुभम् ।

नाभीपद्मरजः प्रमार्ष्टि नयनासङ्गव्यथाशङ्कया

लक्ष्म्या वक्षसि लालनाय रचितायासो हरिः पातु नः ॥ २ ॥

किं च —

भौमासुरन्यतिक्रमप्रतिघोष्मलानि भामासुखेन्दुपरिशीलनशीतलानि ।

शौरैरहस्करसुधाकरलोचनत्व व्यञ्जन्ति शर्म वितरन्तु विलोकनानि ॥ ३ ॥

(नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधारः)

सूत्रधारः — अहो ! वेङ्कटगिरिरनुभावः ।

यात्रावाप्तिवशात्प्रसारितदृशान्ऽधेन प्रदिष्टं तरो-

रग्रे स्वादुफलं गतेन कुजतां कुब्जेन लीलाहृतम् ।

हृद्यं लब्धमिदं त्वयेति सुवतो मूकस्य बाष्पौखरिं

सद्यः पुत्रवतीव वन्ध्यवनितोपश्रुत्य सम्मोदते ॥ ४ ॥

कथमये जठरकुहरगोपायितजगतीकुटुम्बस्य कमलाकपोलपतावलीचित्रकारस्य

विनतजनचतुर्वर्गविश्राणनोपयुक्तचतुर्भुजस्य दनुजदर्पज्वरनिर्वापणदिव्यौषधस्य

शेषाचलशिखरभूषामणेरुडध्वजस्य यात्रायां समागता एवामी भागवताः ।

अहो पावनममीषां दर्शनम् ।

मनसि विकसतीव प्रत्यगानन्दलक्ष्मीः

वचसि किमपि तत्त्व प्रातिभ सिद्धयतीव ।

प्रशमलुखमविद्याबीजविध्वंसलभ्य

परिणमति क्लैतत्सन्निधानाश्रयेण ॥ ५ ॥

संप्रति भाग्यवशेन गुणग्राहिणीयं परिपदासादिता । यत —

विद्यानां बोद्धारो विरला भूमौ वराकबहुलायाम् ।

तेषु च गुणदोषज्ञास्तेषु गुणग्राहिणो ह्यमत्सरिणः ॥ ६ ॥

यावत्तौर्यत्रिकसहकृत्वरीमार्या पुरस्करोमि ।

(नेपथ्याभिमुखो भूत्वा)

आर्ये ! इतस्तावत् ;

नटी — (प्रविश्य) जयतु जयत्वार्यः ! यतः दिगन्तरयात्रागतः प्रभाते विजयकेतुस्सम्प्राप्तः ।

[जेडु जेडु अज्जो ! जतो दिसदरजत्तागदो पहादे विअअकेदू सम्पत्तो]

सूत्र — प्रियं नः ! (सहर्षोल्लासम्)

आशाः प्रथन्ते चैतन्य सिद्धयति ध्वसते तमः ।

तत्किमाख्याहि यन्न स्यात्सति मित्रसमागमे ॥ ७ ॥

नटी — इदानीं पुनर्मानवधनो नाम तस्य दायादः सौभाग्यपताकाकृते अनेन कल्हायमानः

तव ज्येष्ठभ्रातुरुपजापं करोति ।

[दारिण उण

ते णाम से दाआदो सोहग्ग^१ पडाआकिदे णेण कलहाअतो तुह

जेडुभट्ठणो

करेदि]

सूत्र — (')

सस्युर्महानटविमर्दसहस्य योग्यां

योऽसौ जिहृक्षति बलेन यशःपताकाम् ।

मन्थेसभं सुभगमानिनमेनमद्य

जित्वा करोमि भरताभिजनप्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ ८ ॥

किंच

ज्यायान् मम कनीयान् वा ^१ प्रातिपन्थ्यमिहाचरेत् ।

बद्धः परिकरोऽस्माभिः सुहृदिष्टार्थसाधने ॥ ९ ॥

1 पडाणिमित्तणेण (क) 2 प्रतिबद्धमिहाचरेत् (क)

नटी — एवमेव प्रतिज्ञात निर्वहत्वार्थः ।

[एवं एव ¹पडिष्णादं णिवूहेदु अज्जो]

सूत्र — (पुरोऽवलोक्य) नूनमसत्प्रोत्साहनाय परिषत्सकाशान्मारिष ² इत एवाभिवर्तते ।

मारिषः — (प्रविश्य) सखे! मनुखादेवमाज्ञापयन्ति सामाजिकाः । ³ अये भरतकुल-
प्रति !

यत् श्रोत्ररसायनात्मकतयोत्कर्षं श्रुते
मन्दारप्रसवाधिवासितसुधासारानुसारी रसः⁴ ।
अर्थश्चित्रतया चकास्ति वचसां देव्या इव प्राभृतं
बन्धोऽप्यर्धविकासिकेसर ⁵सरस्पर्धी विमर्दक्षमः ॥ १० ॥
कृष्णार्जुनरुचिः काऽपि कृतिर्भावरसोत्तरा ।
कान्तादृष्टिरिवोदारा मधुरा । त्वया ॥ ११ ॥

एतन्महत्त्वं प्रति गीतासमाप्तिश्लोक एव प्रमाणम् ।

‘यत्र योगीश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम’ ॥ १२ ॥

सूत्र — (⁶सहर्षोल्लासं)

प्रभवति हरिश्लोकश्लाघैव पावयितुं जगत्
सितहयगुणग्रामव्यामिश्रिता यदि किं पुनः ।
लघयितुमघान्येका भागीरथी प्रभवत्यलं
किमुत यमुनापूरैस्सङ्गच्छते यदि ॥ १३ ॥

तदेतदनुरूपं निरूपय रूपकम् ।

(विमृश्य) अस्ति किल काश्यपगोत्रस्य तत्र भवतो गुरुरात्मस्य कृतिस्सुभद्रा-
धनञ्जय नाम नाटकम् । नूनं तदुद्देशी परिषदादेशः । (सोत्प्रासम्)

वाच कञ्चा इव क्षुद्रा व्याप्रियन्ते समन्ततः ।
क्वचित्तु सूक्तिरत्नानां यावदर्धः परिग्रहः ॥ १४ ॥

यदस्मात्सु समर्पितस्य तत्प्रबन्धस्येदानीमुपयोगः ।

1 पडिष्णानिवूहेदु (क) 2 मारिषोऽयमिति (क) 3 क पुस्तके नास्ति
4 यत् (क) 5 केसररसस्पर्धी (क) 6 सहर्षम् (क) .

नटी — तस्य कवेः वंशानुक्रमं श्रोतुमभिलषामि ।

[तस्स कइणो वंशानुक्कमं सुणादुं अहिलसामि]

सूत्र — श्रूयतां तावत् । अस्ति खलु तुण्डीरमण्डले “मूलाण्ड” नाम महाग्रहारः ।

तत्र केचन वसन्ति काश्यपाः श्रोत्रिया धृतशिवाचनव्रताः ।

यैरघोरशिवदेशिकादिभिः प्रत्यपादि परतत्त्वमैश्वरम् ॥ १५ ॥

अपि च —

सार्धभौमकविप्राग्र्या वश्यवाचो बहुश्रुताः ।

गुणोत्तरतया सर्वे गुरुन् सभावयन्ति ¹ तान् ॥ १६ ॥

तेषामन्वयभूषणस्य तनुभूरेष स्वयभूगुरो-

दौहित्रः कवितानिरूढयशसः श्रीराजनाथस्य च ।

एनामप्यकरोत्कृति कृतगुणग्रामस्स रामः कविः

काव्यं कृष्णपरं व्यधाच्छिवपरं चम्पूपबन्ध च यः ॥ १७ ॥

नटी — तेन खलु कविना रत्नेश्वरप्रसादनं नाम नाटकमपि निबद्धम् ।

[²जेण खु कइणा रअणेंसरप्पसादणं णाम णाडअ वि णिबद्धम्]

सूत्र — अथ किम् ।

मारिषः ³ — (सबहुमानं)

देवीं वाचमुपास्य केचन वचोरत्नानि यत्नादपि

प्राप्तानि प्रणुदन्ति पामरकथालपान्धकूपान्तरे ।

पुण्यश्लोकजनस्य वा भगवतः जौरेः पुरारेरपि

⁴ श्लाघ्या सा न तु वाचकाय तपसे सन्दर्भमभ्यस्यति ॥ १८ ॥

नटी — आर्यपुत्र ! किन्तु खलु अन्तर्वाणिजनस्य शब्दजालसन्दर्भेष्वनादरः ।

[अय्यउत्त किं णु खु अन्तर्वाणिजनस्स सह जालसदब्भेसु अणादरो]

मारिषः — (सस्मितम्) आर्ये ! न खल्वनादरः । ⁵ बद्धा विरक्तिः ।

मतिरतितरां शास्त्रक्षोदक्षमाऽपि मनीषिणां

सरसकवितासदर्भेषु भ्रमं प्रतिपद्यते ।

द्रवयितुमलम्भूष्णुश्चन्द्रोपलानपि दीयतिः

कमलमुकुलोद्भेदे क्लैब्यं विभर्ति कलानिधेः ॥ १९ ॥

1. यान् (क)

2. जेण (क)

3 मारिष इति पद (क) पुस्तके नास्ति

4 श्लाघायै (क)

5 असिद्धौ विरक्ति (क)

सूत्र — मा मैवम् ।

गोष्ठीनिकषसघर्षशब्दब्रह्मविदां न चेत् ।

कुतः कविवचोगुम्भशातकुम्भविवेचनम् ॥ २० ॥

मारिषः — तर्हि विवादोपजीविनः कतिचिदधिकृत्येदमुत्तरं भवतु ।

सूत्र — मतिविस्तरेण,

पुण्या कथा कविश्रेयान् गोष्ठी सेय गुणोत्तरा ।

दक्षा वयं च नाट्येषु दिष्ट्या सर्व सुसगतम् ॥ २१ ॥

(नेपथ्ये कर्णं दत्वा)

कथमितो दक्षिणेन कलमधुरं मधुकरस्य कूजित श्रूयते ।

(विमृश्य) आ परि^१ ज्ञातम् —

नैतद्भृङ्गस्त शौरिस्वैरचेष्टामिनन्दिनः ।

मरुदास्फालजनित महतीक्वणित मुने^२ ॥ २२ ॥

यदिदानीं द्वारकानगरवासिनो वासुदेवस्य विलासिनीहृदयहरिणकूटयन्त्राणि
विहारतन्त्राणि वीक्ष्य वीक्ष्य विस्मेरमना^३ मुनिरित एवाभिवर्तते । तदेन
वयमपि सङ्गीत^४ विद्योपनिषदैर्निह्यगुरुमुपतिष्ठामहे ॥ (निष्क्रान्तास्सर्वे)

प्रस्तावना

(ततः प्रविशति ' नारद' शिष्यश्च)

नारदः —

स्वैरं शौरिरिह रमयतः षोडशस्त्रीसहस्र

दर्शं दर्शं प्रतिगृहमहं नैकभेदान्विनोदान् ।

वेधोलोकप्रणयविमुखो विस्मृतानेक^५ कर्मा

ब्रह्मानन्दामृतमनुभवन् द्वारकायां भ्रमामि ॥ २३ ॥

शिष्यः — (सस्मितम्) अवतारान्तरे चिरानुभूतसीताविरह इदानीमनेककामिनी

सहस्रैर्विहरति स्वच्छन्दं देवकीनन्दन । अथवा विमुक्तविषयसङ्गस्य भगवत

ईदृशेषु व्यवहारेषु कथं वा अभिलाष ।

1 (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 2 वीणामुनि (क) 3 विद्यापद (क) पुस्तके नास्ति
4 सशिष्यो नारद (क) 5 अशेषकर्मा (क)

[अवदारदरम्मि ¹चिलाणुहूदसीदाविरहो दाणि अण्येयकामिणीसहस्सेहि विहरइ सच्छन्दं देवईणदणो । अहवा विमुत्तविसअसंगस्स भअवंतस्स ईरिसेसु वावारेसु कहं वा ²अहिलासो]

नारदः — अये! पर्वतक! कथं त्व पारमार्थिकोऽसि —

वीततृष्णस्य कृष्णस्य योगिनो भोगिनोऽपि वा ।

चरितास्वादन चेतो धिनोति च धुनेत्यधम् ॥ २४ ॥

उक्त च भगवद्गीतायाम् —

न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।

इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बद्धयते, इति ॥ २५ ॥

शिष्यः — इदानीं पुनः विस्मृष्टपरिजनेन दामोदरेण भगवन् भगवन्त पुरः कृत्वा किं मन्त्रितम् ।

[दाणि उण विसज्जअपरिअणेण दामोदरेण भअव भअवतं पुरो कबुअ कि मन्तिदम्]

नारदः — अयि न जानासि कि परस्परानुरागिणौ सुमद्राधनञ्जयौ तदर्थं च दामोदरनिवेशित-
भारौ देवकीवसुदेवौ तत्प्रनिबन्धकर्तारं च गान्धारेयप्रणयिन ³ रौहिणेयम् ।

शिष्यः — (सोपहास) अहो महेश्वरपरिग्रहा चन्द्ररेखां करदीपिकां कर्तुमभिलषत्येष
सुयोधनः ।

[अहमहे! महेश्वरपरिग्रहं चन्दलेह करदीविअं कादु अहिलसइ एसो सुओहणो]

नारदः — एवमेतत् ।

धनञ्जयाय कृष्णेन पितृभ्यां च प्रतिश्रुताम् ।

कन्यां वरीतुकामोऽय कामपालाश्रयादहो ॥ २६ ॥

शिष्यः — भगवन् कथय वासुदेवेन कि मन्त्रितम् ।

[भअव कहेहि वासुदेवेण कि मतिदम्]

नारदः — (सोत्पास) किमन्यदस्य तीर्थयात्राप्रतिनिवृत्तं पुरोपकण्ठवर्तिनं प्रियसुहृदमन्तः
प्रवेशयितुमुपायालोचनात् ।

शिष्यः — (ततः किं समर्थितं अत्र भगवता ?

[तदो कि समत्थिद अत्य भअववेण]

नारदः — बलदेवप्रलोभनाय ⁴ धनञ्जयस्य यतिवेषधारणं साधीय इति मया निवेदितम्,
तत्क्षणमेव धनञ्जयाय दारुकमादिष्टवान् देवः ⁵ ।

1 चिराणुभूद (क) 2 अनुमोदण (क) 3 प्रणय (क) 4 प्रलोभनकृते (क)
5 देवकीनन्दन (क)

शिष्यः — (सस्मितम्) साधु कन्यकाकामुकस्य काषायधारणम् । इदानीं पुनः कुलं सा सुभद्रा ?

[साहू कण्णआकामुअस्स कासाअधातणम् । दाणि उण कहि सा सुभद्रा]

नारदः — भणितमेव धनञ्जयप्रवृत्तिनिर्धारणार्थं भगवदन्तिकमागच्छन्त्या वासन्तिकया । यथा—

आर्यस्य वाग्मिरनुरुद्धसुयोधनाभिः क्लान्तेयमुष्णसलिलैर्नवमालिकेव ।

प्रच्छायबालकदलीभवनोपगूढ प्राप्ता पुरीपरिसरोपवनं सखीति ॥ २७ ॥

शिष्यः — तत्रैव सुभद्राधनञ्जययोरन्योन्यदर्शनं भविष्यति । भगवन्ननेन गन्धर्वनगर-
मार्गेण सुरलोकं प्रति गच्छावः ।

[तर्हि एव सुहृद्वाधनजयाण अण्णोण दसण हविस्सदि । भअव णेण गंधर्व
णअरमग्गेण सुरलोअ पडि गच्छहो]

नारदः — अपहारितपारिजातशोच्यं सुरलोकं श्रुतिमूलभूषणेन ।

सुरभिं सुरभिद्यशःप्रशस्त्या मधुरोदारमहार्धया करोमि ॥ २८ ॥

(इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

मिश्रविच्छक्कम्भः

(ततः प्रविशति विदूषकेन सह ^१ धनञ्जयः)

धन — तीर्थानि भ्रमता मया शमसुखोदाराणि वाराणसी-
पूर्वाण्यध्युषितानि पुण्यसरितो गङ्गादिमास्सेविता ।

सम्प्राप्तस्य^३ ममाद्य मुक्तिवनितासचारिका द्वारकां
तार्तीयिकपुमर्थलालसमहो डोलायते मानसम् ॥ २९ ॥

विदू — अत्र प्रथमदृष्टं तत्कन्यकारत्नमनुसरन् पर्युत्सुको वयस्यः ।

[एत्थ पुढमदिट्ठं त कण्णआरअण अणुसरंतो पज्जुस्सुओ बअस्सो]

धन — आलोकमार्गमखिलावयवाभिरामा

रामा नमस्कुरुत यस्य न तस्य चेतः ।

यद्यस्ति केवलमिदं लिखति प्रमोहात्

स्वैरं तथा सह विहारसुखाधिकारम् ॥ ३० ॥

विद् -- चिरप्रवृत्ततीर्थयात्राव्यापारमपि त्वां कथमनुबन्धाति तथाविधो व्यामोहः ।

[चिरप्पवृत्ततित्थजत्तवावार वि तुम कह अनुबन्धेइ तहाविहो वामोहो]

धन — एवमेतत्, इदानीमनुदिनमस्याः क्रमोपचीयमान तरुणिमानं यथा यथाऽवधारयति
तथा तथा भवति तदेकतान हृदयम् ।

मत्तैव गतिषु मान्द्य मध्ये कैवल्यमपि दृशोलैल्यम् ।

उत्कण्ठाभरमन्थर मिदमपि शून्यं परिप्लव जातम् ॥ ३१ ॥

विद् — तस्मिन्नन्तरे तस्याः कीदृशी अवस्था ?

[तहि अदरे ताए केरिसी ¹ अवत्था]

धन — तदानीं तु तस्याः —

स्वीकर्तुमङ्गमखिल शिशुतागृहीत

कुर्वन् पुरः कुचमय लिङ्गचोपहारम् ।

वीरस्य मानसशयस्य विबोधवेलं

प्रायो नवस्तरुणिमा प्रतिपाल्य तस्यौ ॥ ३२ ॥

विद् — वयस्य ! दारुकमुखसङ्क्रान्तं दामोदरनियोगमनुनिष्ठावः ।

[वअस्स दाहअमुहसंकं वामोदरणिओअ अणुचिद्वहो]

धन — (सानुस्सरणम्) सखे गालव, तन्नगरमार्गमादर्शय ? !

विद् — इत इतो भगवन् ।

[इवो इवो भअव]

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

(नेपथ्ये)

सखि वासन्तिके ! अपि सत्यं तव वचनं — अथवा आश्वासनशीलता ।

[हला वासन्तिके अवि सच्चं तुह वअणम् । अहवा आसासणसीलदा]

धन — (कर्णं दत्वा) ² अहो भवत्यन्यकरणस्पृहणीयं श्रवणेन्द्रियाधिकारं वचनम् ।

विद् — तस्या उपलभकृते एतदुपवनं प्रविशावः ।

[से उवलंभकिदे एदं पविसामो]

1 वयो अवत्था (क) 2 आवेदय (क) 3 अहो अन्यकरणश्रवणेन्द्रियाधिकार
वचनम् (क)

धन — (परिक्रम्यावलोक्य) इतो मरकतवेदिकासनाथं कदलीगृहमध्यास्ते सह सखीभ्यां सुभद्रा । (साश्चर्यं)

सौभाग्य नयनानां सौन्दर्यविशेष¹सम्भ्रमस्थानम् ।

स्वदते² साऽपि विधातुः सुदती रचनासमाप्तिमुद्रेयम् ॥ ३३ ॥

(पुनस्साकून निर्वर्ण्य)

रूपोल्लेखस्सकल मुपमाद्रव्यमाक्षिप्य दीव्यन्

कान्तिस्यन्दी ललितमधुरः कस्य नो³ कामुकस्य ।

⁴भृङ्गासङ्गव्यतिकरदरप्रेङ्खदिन्दीवराभ

न स्यादस्या नयनवलन सामरस्याय कस्मै ॥ ३४ ॥

उपोषिते दृशौ, युवयोरुपनतेयममृतपारणा ।

चिरादभिमतास्वादा सेयमास्वाद्यतां तथा ।

युवाभ्यामप्रमत्ताभ्यां यथा नानुशयो भवेत् ॥ ३५ ॥

विद् — वयस्य अल परिदेवितेन । अत्रभवत्या विस्रम्भकथितानि विटपान्तरितौ शृणुवः ।

[वअस्स अलं परिदेविदेण । अत्तहोदिए विस्रभकहिवाइ विडवदरिता सुणह्म⁵]

(उभौ तथा कुरुतः)

(ततः प्रविशति यथोद्दिष्टा सुभद्रा)

सुभद्रा — हला वासन्निके अपि सत्य तव वचनम्⁶ अथवा आश्वासनशीलता ?

[हला वासदिए अवि सच्च तुह वअणम् ; अहवा आसासणसीलवा]

वासन्निका — अतिस्नेहकातरे, अविश्वासिनी खलु त्वम् ।

[अदिसिण्हकादरे⁷ अविस्ससिणी खु तुमम्]

सुभद्रा — कदा वा समागमिष्यति चिरप्रवासी स जनः ?

[⁷ कदा वा समाअमिस्सदि चिरप्पवासी सो जणो]

विद् — त्वामेवाधिकृत्य एषा कथा वर्तते ।

[वअस्स तुमं एव अहिकरिअ एसा कहा⁸ वट्टइ]

धन — अल भिमतानुरुपसभावनया ।

1 सङ्ग्रहस्थानम् (क) 2 काऽपि (क) 3 कौतुकाय (क) 4 भृङ्गामङ्ग-
व्यतिकरकरप्रेङ्खदिन्दीवराभम् (ख) 5 सुणुमो (क) 6 अविस्सासणीआ तुमम् (क)
7 कुदो वा (क) 8 पसज्जइ (क)

अमरिका — (आत्मगतम्) क्रीडिष्यामि सख्या । (प्रकाशम्) सखि को नाम स जन ?
[कोलिस्स सहीए । हला को णाम सो जणो]

सुभद्रा — अमरिके नियतिरिव त्वमपि मां कथं विडम्बयसि ?
[भमरिए णिअदो विअ तुम वि कह ¹म विडबेसि]

वास — (समितम्) सखि अपनय कौतूहल सख्याः ।
[हला ²ओणेहि कोदूहल सहीए]

सुभद्रा — त्वमपि अमरिकामनुप्रविष्टासि ।
[तुमं वि भमरिअं अणुप्पविट्ठासि]

अम — सुभद्रे, सत्यं हृदयादपि लज्जाशीलाऽसि, यतः अभिमतं सखीजनादपि निगूहसे ।
[सुहदे सच्च ह्रिअआदो वि लज्जासीलासि, जदो अहिमद सहीजणादो वि णिगूहेसि]

सुभद्रा — (निश्चयः) अविज्ञातपरवेदनं तीर्थयात्रापरवशं तं जनं किं न जानासि ?
[अविण्णादपरवेदणं तित्थजत्तापरवसं तं जणं किं ण जानासि]

धन — अनुराणिणीमपि त्वामवमनुते हन्त मन्दभाग्यो यः ।
अङ्गागतां च लक्ष्मीमवधीरयितुं स एव हि साहसिकः ॥ ३६ ॥

अम — (स्वगतम्) असूयिष्यामि तावदिमाम् । (प्रकाशः) एव नाम कथितव्यम्,
चित्तगतो बल्लभ इति ।
[असूअइस्स दाव इमं, एव्व णाम कहिदव्व चित्तगतो बल्लहो सि]

विदू — अपि श्रुतं श्रोतव्यम् ?
[³अवि सुदं सोदव्वम्]

धन — किं नाम श्रुतं श्रोतव्यम् । सुभद्राकिङ्कर इति न कथितमासीत् ।

सुभद्रा — (सासूयं पश्यति)

धन — (सुभद्रां निर्वर्ण्य) अलमनितरसाधारणं दासजनमन्यथा सम्भाव्य ।

मदनशरदत्तविवरे मम हृदये गाढकीलितो दधिते ।

तव कुटिलोऽयमपाङ्गः स्थैर्यायालं प्रसादतर्कस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

वास — अतिवाहिताः खलु अनेन प्रतिज्ञादिवसाः, साम्प्रतं त्वमेवास्य तीर्थयात्राफलम् ।
[अदिवाहिदा क्खु इमिणा पडिण्णादिअहा । सपद तुम एव्व से तित्थजत्ताफलम् ।]

1 म (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 2 अवणेहि (क) 3 सुद तुए सोदव्वम्

धन — न पर्याप्तमेतावता ।

सुभद्रा — (लीलाकमलदलानि गणयन्ती लज्जमाना तिष्ठति)

भ्रम — सखि लीलाकमलदलगणनापदेशेन प्रतिज्ञादिवसानि किं गणयसि ?

[हला लीलाकमलदलगणनावदेसेण पङ्क्तिणादिअहाइ किं गणेसि]

सुभद्रा — (लीलाकमलेन ¹ ताडयति)

भ्रम — न खल्वह सङ्कल्पविप्रलम्भयिता धनञ्जय ।

[ण क्खु अहं सकप्पविप्पलं भइत्तओ धणंजओ]

धन — तथा यदि पर्याप्तमनोरथः स्यादयं जनः ।

सुभद्रा — मा खलु मां क्रीडावचनैरायासय । (इत्यञ्जलिं घटयति)

[मा क्खु म क्रीडावअणेहि आआसिअ]

भ्रम — अभिमतवरगामिनी भव ।

[अहिमदवरगामिणी होहि]

धन — ² रमणीयः परितस्तलापः ।

विदू — प्रभाते मम सुखावलोकनप्रभावेन ते सुदिनं जातम् ।

[पहादे मह मुहावलोअणप्पहावेण दे सुदिणं जादम्]

धन — (विहस्य) एवमेतत् ।

सुभद्रा — (नि श्वस्य) कुतो वा बलदेवमगिन्यास्तादृशं भागधेयम् ।

[कुदो ³ वा बलदेवभइणीए तारिस्स भाअहेअम्]

वास — विशेषेण मम मनोरथसम्पादने गुरुजनेन आर्यदामोदरे निवेशितो भारः ।

[विसेसेण ⁴ मह मणोरहसपादणे ⁵ गुरुजणेण अर्यदामोदरंमि निवेसिओ भारो]

भ्रम — तस्मात्त्वा प्रार्थयमानेन सुयोधनेन केवलं बालिशान् बलदेवान्न सुलभा । सुलभा दामोदराद्धनञ्जयेन ।

[ता तुम पत्थअतेण सुओहणेण केवलं बालिशओ बलदेवाओ ण सुलहा ; सुलहा दामोदराओ धणजयेण]

धन — ⁶ अत्यद्भुतमेकचरस्येव नागस्य कामपालस्य ⁷ कामं दुर्वारविलक्षणा वृत्तिः ।

1 ताडयितुमिच्छति (क) 2 रमणीय परिहास (क) 3 वा (क) पुस्तके नास्ति

4 तुह (क) 5 सपादणकिदे (क) 6 अहो (क) 7 (क) पुस्तके नास्ति

वास — आर्यबलदेवस्य तादृशप्रवृत्तिनिर्धारणार्थं कलावती नियुक्ता ।

[अय्यबलदेवस्स तारिस्सप्पउत्ति¹णिद्धारणत्थ कलावदी णिउत्ता]

कलावती — (प्रविश्य) जयतु भर्तृदारिका ।

[जेवु भट्टिदारिका]

सुभद्रा — (कलावती प्रति) अपि नास्ति अन्तःपुरे प्रवृत्तिविशेषः²

[अवि णत्थि अन्देवुरे पवृत्तिविसेसो]

कला — अपरं न किमपि । त्रिकालपरिज्ञानकुशलो वैयासिकतीर्थको नाम यतीश्वर आगमिष्यतीति आर्यदामोदरो बलदेवप्रमुखानां कौतूहलमुत्पादयति ।

[अवर ण किं वि, तिआलपडिण्णाणकुसलो वैआसिअतित्थओ णाम जदीसरो आअमि-
स्सदित्ति अय्यदामोदरो बलदेवप्पमुहाण कोटूहल उप्पादेइ]

धन — सम्यगुपक्रान्तं सख्या³ कृष्णेन ।

वास — सखि स वैयासिकतीर्थकस्समागमिष्यति वा सख्याः पुनरभिमतसिद्धिं प्रष्टुम् ।

[हला सो वैआसिअतित्थओ समाअमिस्सदि वा सहोए⁴ उण अहिमदसिज्झि पुच्छिइ]

सुभद्रा — ततो वरं भवेत् ।

[तवो वरं हवे]

धन — सखे! अवसरोऽय मग्नतो⁵ भवितुम् । पुरतो मार्गमादर्शय ।

विदू — इत इतो वैयासिकतीर्थकः ।

[इदो इदो वैआसिअतित्थओ]

(सर्वाः साश्चर्यं⁶ भवलोक्याभ्युत्तिष्ठन्ति)

यतिः — (उपसृत्य) क्व वा यूयमभिजाताकारधन्याः⁷

वास — भगवन् एषा सुभद्रा नाम वसुदेवनन्दिनी । आवामपि अस्यास्सख्यौ ।

[भअवं एसा सुहदा णाम वसुदेव्वणदिणी । अहो वि से सहोओ]

(इति सर्वाः प्रणमन्ति)

यतिः —⁷ अविलम्बितमायुष्मतीनां अभिमतलभो भूयात् ।

भ्रम — भगवन्, अत्र क्षणमात्र विश्रम्य अनुगृह्णातु ।

[भअवं एत्थ खणमेत्त विस्समिअ अणुगेह्णाइ]

1. णिमित्तम् (क) 2. उपक्षिप्त (क) 3. दामोदरेण (क) 4. (क) पुस्तके नास्ति
5. धावितुम् (क) 6. (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 7. अविलम्बम् (क)

यतिः — तथा (इति शिष्योपनीतां वृशी मुपविश्य) भवत्यश्रोपविशन्तु ।
(सर्वा यथोचितमुपविशन्ति)

सुभद्रा — (आत्मगत) किमेतत् प्रथमदृष्टोऽपि च एष यतीश्वरो मामुपस्नेहयति ।
[कि एद पदमद्विदो वि अ एसो जदीसरो म ¹उवसिणेहोदि]

भ्रम — भगवन्! सकलैर्ज्ञात वो महानुभावत्वम् । ततः किमपि कार्यं मया सम्प्रष्टव्यमस्ति ।
[भअव सअले ²हि जाणिद वो महानुभावत्तण, तदो कि वि कज्ज मए ³सपुच्छिदव्व अत्थि]

यतिः — यथा भवतीभ्यो रोचते ।

भ्रम — अस्माकं हृदयगत किमपि कथितव्यम् ।
[अह्माण हिअअगद कि वि कहिदव्वम्]

यतिः — भवतु जानीमः (इति ध्यानं नाटयति)

शिष्यः — (जनान्तिक) मा खलु यतीश्वर! सङ्कल्पविप्रलम्भो भव! ⁴
[मा खु जदीसरो! सकप्पविप्पलम्भो होहि]

यतिः — (ध्यानान्ते चक्षुषी 'शनैः शनैः प्रोन्मील्य')
⁵सुभद्रामधिकृत्यैवायमनुयं गः प्रतिमानि ।
(सर्वाश्च विस्मयं नाटयन्ति)

यतिः — सोऽपि अनुरूपवरप्रार्थनागर्भः ।

भ्रम — किं नु सुलभप्रार्थना भवति प्रियसखी? सोऽपि वरः कीदृशनामधेयः? सर्वमपि कथितव्यम् ।
[कि णु सुलहप्पत्थणा ⁶होदि पिअसहो? सोवि वरो ⁷केरिसणामहेओ? सव्व वि कहिदव्व]

यतिः — विमृश्येदानीं कथ्यते ।

सुभद्रा — (अपवार्य) किं नु वा कथयिष्यतीति कातरा भवामि ।
[किं णु वा कहिस्सदित्ति कादरा होमि]

वास — सखि समाश्रसिहि, यदेष महानुभावः यथाचिन्तितं समागतः तदेव प्रथमं निदर्शनम् ।
[हला समस्ससिहि ज एसो महानुभावो जह चिन्तिद समाअदो त एव्व ⁸पदम णिदसण]

1 उवसिणेहेइ (क) 2 हि (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 3 पुच्छि अदी (क) 4 उन्मील्य(क)
अवशिष्ट (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 5 सुभद्रानिमित्तमिवायमनुयोग (क) 6 होइ 7 किणामहेओ
8 अहिमदसिद्धि (क)

यतिः — इदमपि श्रूयतां ¹ तावत् ।

सख्यः — सर्वा अवहिताः स्मः ।

[सव्वा अवहिदं ह्य]

यतिः — अहो ² प्रत्यूहोत्तराः प्रार्थितार्थसिद्धयः ।

(सर्वा भय नाटयन्ति)

यतिः — पार्थ एवाभिलाषोऽस्या ।

सख्यौ — (सकौतुक) तत स्ततः ²

[तदो तदो]

यतिः — स च कृच्छ्रेण सिध्यति । * इदं मम स्फुरत्यन्तरिद वोऽभिमत न वा ।

सख्यौ — आम भगवन् आम (सुभद्रामालिङ्गितः)

[आम भव आम]

शिष्यः — (वासन्तिकामपवार्य) सामुद्रिकलक्षणपरिज्ञाने विशेषनिपुणत्वमस्ति ।

[सामुद्रिकलक्षणपडिष्णाणे ³ विसेसणिउणत्तण अत्थि]

वास — (आत्मगत) तदेव भवतु (प्रकाश) भगवन् सामुद्रिकलक्षणमपि सख्याः परीक्षितव्यम् ।

[ता एव्व होदु, भवव सामुद्रिकलक्षण वि सहीए परिकिखदव्व]

यतिः — कथमाजन्मसिद्धसौभाग्यायास्सामुद्रिकलक्षणवीक्षा । तथाऽपि भवत्या मतमनु रूध्यामहे ।

वास — (सुभद्रां तदन्तिके स्थापयति)

यतिः — (तस्या करतलमवलम्ब्यात्मगत) अहो स्पर्शमात्रेणैव परवशोऽसि ।

सुभद्रा — (स्वगत) किमेतत् करावलम्बमात्रेण सात्विकभावमनुभवामि ।

[कि एव ⁴ करावलम्बमेत्तेण सत्तिअविआर अणुहोमि]

भ्रम — (अपवार्य) एतस्यापि सख्या अपि यतिकन्यकाभावविरुद्धा दृश्यते ।

[एदस्स वि सहीए वि जदिकण्णआभावविरुद्धा समवत्था दिस्सइ]

वास — अथवा बलवती भगवती भवितव्यता ।

[अहवा ⁵ बलवदी भववदी भविदव्वदा]

1 क पुस्तके नास्ति 2 प्रत्यवरोधोत्तरा (क) * इतीव मे स्फुरत्यन्तरिद वोऽभिमत न वा (क) 3 विसेस णेवुण अत्थि (क) 4 एदस्स (क) 5 फलानुमिद वा खु भववदी भविदव्वदा (क)

यतिः — भद्रे! समुत्तानय करम् । (विलोक्य)

मृदुमध्योन्नतारक्तलोऽय ग्रथिताङ्गुलिः ।

सौभाग्य सूचयत्यस्या स्सुव्यक्तमितरेखिकः ॥ ३८ ॥

अहो ^१सर्वाङ्गीणानि सौभाग्यलक्षणानि । तथा हि —

स्निग्धश्यामलबन्धुरः कचभरो दीर्घाक्षमस्या मुख

कण्ठो वृत्ततनु र्धन ^२स्तनभर स्सुश्लिष्टसन्धी भुजौ ।

अच्छिद्राङ्गुलिजालक करयुग नाभी गभीरोज्ज्वला

मध्य मुष्टिमित निषङ्गतुलिते जङ्घे पदे पाटले ॥ ३९ ॥

शिष्यः — (अपवार्य) साधु यतीश्वर साधु, यत व्यपदेशेन प्रियतमा प्रशस्यते ।

[साह्रु जदीसर साह्रु, जदो^३ ववदेतेण पिअत्तमा पससीअदि]

यतिः — कि बहुना, परिग्रहीतृसौभाग्यदायिलक्षणेय सुभद्रा ।

सरह्यौ — भगवतोऽनुग्रहेण एतद्भवतु ।

[भअवतस्स अणुग्गहेण एद होडु]

(नेपथ्ये)

^४तत्रभवान् वैयासिकतीर्थकः पुरस्कृत्य विधिवदानेतन्य इति सबलदेवो दामोदरः

^५प्रतिपादयति ।

(सर्वे आकर्णयन्ति)

सरह्यौ — आर्यदामोदरवचनेन उपाध्यायसोमदत्तः भगवन्तं अन्विष्यति ।

[अय्यदामोदरवअणेण उवज्झाओ सोमदत्तो भअवत अण्णेसदि]

यतिः — आः कथमाकर्णितास्मदागमनवृत्तान्तं स्तत्रभवान् देवकीनन्दनः ।

सरह्यौ — भगवन् ! पुनर्दर्शनाय अस्मान् विसर्जय ।

[भअव ^६पुणोदसणाअ अहो विसज्जेहि]

(इति सर्वाश्चोत्तिष्ठन्ति)

सुभद्रा — (यथाकथञ्चित् सह सखीभ्यां सविलम्ब निष्क्रान्ता)

धन — (सोत्कण्ठं) सखे ! किं करोमि । न पारयामि पर्यवस्थापयितुं ^७मुन्मनायमान-

मात्मानम् ।

1. सर्वाङ्गीणानि (ख) 2. स्तनभुर (क) 3. (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 4. अत्र (क)
5. प्रतिपालयति (क) 6. पुणोदसणाणिमित्त (क) 7. (क) पुस्तके नास्ति

काञ्चन विकृतिं नीते कामकलापेन कलितसन्तापे ।

प्रायःस्त्रीरत्नमिदं प्रत्युप्तं मनसि मे द्रवीभूते ॥ ४० ॥

विदू — वयस्य एतस्मिन् कदलीगृहकौतुकागारे कामानलसाक्षिकं तत्रभवत्या करग्रहण-
मङ्गलं सवृत्तम् । इतः परं किं प्रस्थातव्यं, एष सोमदत्तोपाध्यायः अर्घ्यपाणिः
त्वामुपतिष्ठते ।

[वयस्य एतस्मिन् कदलीघरकौतुकागारे कामाणल ¹सक्लिखं तत्तहोदीए करग्रहण
मगल संजत्तम् । इदो वर किं ²पत्थिदव्व ; स एसो सोमदत्तोवज्झाओ अग्घपाणी
तुम उवचिद्दइ]

धन — (ससम्भ्रम) तदावामप्येनमनुगच्छाव ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तास्सर्वे)

प्रथमोऽङ्कः



1 सक्लिखं (क) 2. अत्थि (क)

अथ ।द्वितीयोऽङ्कः

(ततः प्रविशति दारुकः कञ्चुकी च)

कञ्चुकी — सखे !^१ किमेतद्भुतावलोकनसम्भ्रान्ता इव समन्ततः^२स्सन्ति नागरिकाः । *

दारुकः — अन्यदस्ति महत्कुतूहलस्पदम् ।

कञ्चुकी — तत् किं^३ कथय ।

दारुकः — यथार्हमभ्यर्हितं यतिमभितः कृनोपवेशेषु यदुषु कोऽपि गन्धर्वश्चित्ररथो नाम गगनपथादवतीर्य चक्रवाकीसनस्थ पञ्जरं पुरो निधाय देवकीतनयं सविनयमिदमवादीत् । भगवन् ! नृगचक्रवर्तिनः कृकलासतामोचनं नारदमुखादाकर्ण्य गौरीशापादुपनतचक्रवाकी-रूपामेनां प्रियतमामादाय देवस्य पादमूलमागतोऽस्मि ।

कञ्चुकी — अहो देवस्यानुभावः, यद्विव्यैरपि शरणं प्रतिपद्यते । ततो देवेन किं प्रतिपन्नम्^४ ?

दारुकः — किङ्कारणोऽयं शापः, किमवसानो वेति पृच्छन्त भगवन्तं गन्धर्वः पुनरिदमवादीत् ।

मन्दाकिनीसलिलकेलिषु चक्रवाकीमेषा वबन्ध विसतन्तुगुणैर्वराकी ।

तद्विप्रयोगविधुरे^५ गृहचक्रवाके^६ गौरी शशाप कुपिता विहगी भवेति ॥ १ ॥

कञ्चुकी — आः कथं^७ममृतांशोरप्यङ्गारोद्गारः । ततस्ततः ।

दारुकः — तदानीमेव समापन्नचक्रवाकीरूपायां क्लृभायां किमेतदिति चिन्ताकुले मयि निस्ससार च^८ अशरीरिणी वाणी — ‘शङ्करचूडाशशाङ्क^९चन्द्रिकासन्निधानावधिरयं गौरीशाप’ इति ।

कञ्चुकी — (सस्मितं) अहो शापावसानस्य-सौलभ्यम् !

१ दारुक ! (क) २ सचरन्ति (क) * दारुक - अये सारसक ! न जानासि किमिदानीन्तनमुदन्तम् कञ्चुकी - महानुभाव कोऽपि यतीश्वरो भगवता वासुदेवेन सबहुमानमभ्यन्तर प्रवेशित इत्येतावदेव जानामि (क) पुस्तके अधिक पाठ ३ विधुरी (ख) ४ चक्रवाकी (ख) ५ अमृतादप्यङ्गारोद्गार, (क) ६ काचिदशरीरिणी(?) वाणी (क) ७ किरणमन्निधानावधि (क)

प्रत्यग्दृशा¹ कथमपि प्रणिधान² वश्य पश्यन्ति य हृदि परोरजसः पुराणाः ।

तस्येश्वरस्य मकुटेन्दुमुखयोगात् शापान्तलाभ इति केन कृतः प्रमोहः³ ॥ २ ॥

दारुकः — मा मैवं, न खलु दिव्या गिरो व्यभिचरन्ति ।

कञ्चुकी — ततस्ततः ।

दारुकः — तदनु बलदेवेन सह सम्मन्व्य देवकीनन्दनः कर्मन्दिन अनुनाथितवान् ।

‘भगवन्! भवद्विरेष साधनीयमनन्यकरणीयमिद’मिति । तेनापि तत्प्रतिश्रुतम् ।

कञ्चुकी — (साध्वर्यं) कथमेवमध्यवसितम्⁴

दारुकः — दुरवबोधगम्भीरो हि महात्मनां प्रभावः । *

कञ्चुकी — परया⁴ परमेश्वरपरिगृहीतं पार्थमन्तरेण दुस्साधमिदं कर्म⁵ कः प्रतिजानीते ।

दारुकः —⁶ संवरणीयमेतत् ।

कञ्चुकी —⁷ किमिदमतिरहस्यम्⁸

(समन्तादूर्ध्वमवलोक्य)

गवाक्षैश्शोभन्ते कुतुकमिलितान्त पुरवधू-

कटाक्षव्याकीर्णैः स्फटिकमणिसौधाङ्गणभुवः ।

अयुष्मेषोरन्तर्घटितनलिनेन्दीवरशरै-

रखण्डैः कोदण्डैरिव वलयलीलासुपगतैः ॥ ३ ॥

दारुकः — तदावामस्याः प्रवृत्तेरभ्यन्तरीभवाव ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

⁹ प्रवेशकः

(ततः प्रविशति ध्यानमभिनयन् विविक्तमध्यासीनो विदूषकेन सह धनञ्जयः)

धन — सन्दिग्धदन्त¹⁰ पटल धनचापलेन मन्दस्मितेन मयि सूचितधैर्यचौर्यम् ।

आविर्भवत्यधि¹⁰ समाधि किमाचरामि वक्तु वतसपद¹¹ वल्गदपाङ्गमस्याः ॥ ४ ॥

(पुनस्सबोधवैचित्र्यम्)

1 प्रत्यग्दृशा (क) 2 वश्ये (क) 3 प्रलोभ (क) * कञ्चुकी- (सवितर्क) वत्सा
मुभद्रा मघिकृत्य प्रच्छन्नवेषो धनञ्जय इति कौलीनमपि तथ्य भवेत् । दारुक - अथकिम् ?
4 परया (क) 5 कतम . (क) 6 संवरणमेतत् 7 किमनुशास्यम् 8 शुद्धविष्कम्भ (क)
9 पटला . (ख) 10 अनुसमाधि (क) 11 वल्गानदृष्टि तस्याः (क)

ध्येयश्चन्द्रशिखामणिः क्व खलु सा पूर्णेन्दुबिम्बानना
चेतश्चिन्तय नीलकण्ठरमहो नीललका दुर्लभा ।

प्रादुष्याद्विषमेक्षणो मम कदा पश्यामि वामेक्षणां
(सविमर्शानुताप)

ध्याने ¹ कामजितं करोमि किमहं कामस्समुन्मीलति ॥ ५ ॥

विदू — किमेतत्? महेश्वरचन्द्रचन्द्रकासन्निधानमभिलषति एषा चक्रवाकी । वयस्य! पर्यवस्थापय
आत्मानम् । निर्विकल्पसुलभः खलु भगवान् चन्द्रशेखरः ।
[कि एवम्? महेश्वरचन्द्र² चदिआसणिहाणं अहिलसइ एसा चक्कवाई । वअस्स पज्ज-
वत्थावेहि अत्ताणम् णिविकप्प ³सुलहो क्खु भअव चंदसेहरो]

धन — (सधैर्यानुरोध)

क्षणमपनय ⁴बाणं काम तुभ्य प्रणामो
निवस निभृतमन्तः क्वापि कान्ते प्रसीद ।

हृदय सदयमस्याश्शापमोक्षाय कुर्या ⁵

दरहिमकरचूडध्यान एवावधानम् ॥ ६ ॥

(कथञ्चिदात्मानमवष्टभ्य सानुसरणं)

त्यक्तवाऽऽरण्यकवर्णिकां स्मितमुख तिष्ठन्तमग्रे मम
स्कन्धन्यस्तकरं वृषस्य कमपि ध्यायामि तेजोभरम् ।

⁶ तन्मौलौ कृतमालशालिनि परिष्कारैकहीराङ्कुरं
सौन्दर्यावधिरेखिकां भगवती रेखां च सौधाकरीम् ॥ ७ ॥

(इति सरोमाध्व⁷ बुध्वा)

देव त्वत्पदपद्मसेवनबलद्दुस्साध⁸ मप्याश्रुतं
भार स्साधयितुं ⁹तवै हि ¹⁰ भगवन् भक्तप्रियम्भावुक ¹¹ !

एकं व्याकिर शेखरामृतकरा लोकेषु दिव्याङ्गना-
जापध्वान्तविधूतये च पुरतश्चक्षुष्मतां प्रीतये ॥ ८ ॥

(इति प्रणमति)

1 कामजित (क) 2 मड. (क) 3 समाहि (क) 4 बाणान् (क) 5 कुर्या (क)
6 तन्मौलीकृतमालशालिनि परिष्कारैस्सहीराङ्कुरा (ख) 7 अञ्जलि (क) 8 दुस्साध्यम् (क)
9 तवैव हि (क) 10 भवान् (क) 11 भावुक (क)

विदू — (सकौतुकं) किमेतत् कर्पूरपरागविच्छुरितानीव प्रासादशिखराणि !

[कि एव कप्पुअवरा¹ अविच्छुरिआई विअ प्रासाअसिहराई]

(नेपथ्ये)

साधु भगवन् ! साधु । अत्यद्भुतानुभावः खलु² ।

अहो ते भक्तिसूत्रस्य दूराकर्षणचातुरी ।

कुतश्शम्भुजटाज्योत्स्ना कुतो द्धारवती पुरी ॥ ९ ॥

धन — (सहर्षकौतुकमुत्थाय ऊर्ध्वमवलोक्य) आः कथं भगवता भवानीवल्लभेन भक्तजना-
धीनता दर्शिता !

कालातिलङ्घनस्यातिपताका पारमेश्वरीम् ।

वन्दे चन्द्रकलां देवी द्योतोऽयं यत्प्रसादनः ॥ १० ॥

(पुनर्नेपथ्ये)

ईहन्ते गृहदीर्घिकासु कुमुदान्युन्मीलितु मीलितु

राजीवानि रथाङ्गदम्पतिकुलं यावद्वियोक्तुं³ पुन ।

तावद्विव्यवधूं विधूततमसां⁴ कृत्वा जवाधूर्जटे-

⁵ शूडाचन्द्रवियोगनिस्सहृतया ज्योत्स्ना बतान्तर्हिता ॥ ११ ॥

विदू — सजलघनध्वनिस्त्रिगन्धगम्भीरेण स्वरेण नून बलदेवो व्याहरति ।

[सजलघनध्वनिसिनिध्वगम्भीरेण सरेण गूण बलदेवो वाहरइ]

(प्रविश्य शापमुक्तया कान्तया सह)

चित्ररथः — भगवन् ! प्रणमामि ।

भवत्प्रसादतस्तेय प्रत्यापत्तिं गता प्रिया ।

पश्याम्युपकृतेरस्या दुष्करामेव निष्कृतिम् ॥ १२ ॥

⁶ अपि तु कथञ्चिदभ्यर्थये । सुखस्पर्शतया विवर्त इवाह्लादस्य स्ववृत्तोज्ज्वलतया
लोकोत्तरभवद्गुणानुकारी⁷ हारोऽयमुपगृह्यताम्, यः किल गान्धर्वपरितोषितेन
भगवता मधवता प्रसादीकृतः । (इति ⁸ चूडादुन्मुच्य हारमर्पयति)

धन — (विदूषकेन ग्राह्यति) अये ! गन्धर्वराज, देवयानेन पथा सवधूकस्सुखेन सचरेथा ।

1 (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 2 खल्वसि (क) 3 विमोक्तु (क) 4 तमस (क) 5 भूयस्ते
मकुटेन्दुनिस्सहृतया (क) 6 अथापि किञ्चिदभ्यर्थये (क) 7 हारी (क) 8 निचोलादुन्मुच्य (क)

चित्र — (साकूतसित) अये महेन्द्रनन्दनक! कस्यचित्कार्यस्य कृते प्रच्छन्नरूप¹ त्वा जानामि ।

धन — किं नाम दिव्यानामवेदितव्यमस्ति ।

चित्र — तदत्र भवत्सेवावसरमनुपालयन्नेव सञ्चरामि ।

(इति गगनपथेन निष्क्रान्तौ)

विदू — अहो वर्षोपलमालाया इव हारावल्याः परिग्रहणमात्रेण उद्वेजिताः कराङ्गुल्य ।

[अहह वरिसोपलमालाए विअ हारावलीए पडिग्रहणमेत्तेण उद्वेजिदाओ करंगुलीओ]

(इति भूमौ क्षेप्तुमिच्छति)

धन — (गृहीत्वा सस्मितं) सम्यग्भिज्ञोऽसि हारसौष्ठवस्य ।

(विहस्य)

तरुणिमपरिणामोद्दामनुङ्गिन्नि तस्या

स्तनगिरितट एवाभाति हारावलीयम् ।

अधिकमुपलभेत ग्यातिमप्याभिरुप्य

मदकलकरिकुम्भोत्तमिता वैजयन्ती ॥ १३ ॥

(पुरोऽवलोक्य)

आ कथं समाजान्निर्गत्य पुरस्कृत्य च बलदेव दारुकेण सह दामोदरो² मत्सभाजनार्थ-
मित एवाभिवर्तते ।

(ततः प्रविशति बलदेवानुगतस्सदारुक कृष्णः)

कृष्णः — (अपवार्य) अये दारुक ! दिष्ट्या दुस्साधसाधनप्रसन्नमुख प्रियसखं पश्यामि ।

दारुकः — (सोपहास)

अस्मेरकैरवमशान्तनिशान्धकार-

माह्लादशून्यमभविष्यदिदं हि³ विश्वम् ।

धैवं जटागहनमप्यविलोकनीय-

मस्यापतिष्यदधिचन्द्रकल धनुश्चेत् ॥ १४ ॥

1. प्रच्छन्न (क) 2 मत्सभावनामिति एव (क) 3 सर्वम् (ख)

इत्येव किमाशङ्क्यैव पुनश्चस्मुरस्य कोदण्डताडनम् भगवान्मौलिचन्द्रिकां
सन्निधापयेत् । ¹ भक्तजनेषु परवान्नु भवानीपतिः ।

दारुः — भवन्त एव जानन्ति भवतां चरितानि ।

बलभद्रः — भगवान् अय एवविधानुभावप्रत्ययेन विशेषप्रतिपत्तिभाजनं भवति ।

कृष्णः — (अपवार्य, सोत्प्रास) एतदर्थ एव यत्नः ।

(सर्वे यतिमुपसृत्य विहितोपचारा यथोचितमुपविशन्ति)

बल — प्रकटितपरमाद्भुतानुभावेन भगवता परिगृह्यमाणा वय न केषामुपरि मनोरथानाम् ²

कृष्णः — (साकूतस्मितं) अयि भगवन् !

आलोकनैरतितरां मधुरप्रशान्तैः

चेतस्तनोषि चिर³संस्तुतवत्प्रसन्नम् ।

चर्याऽपि मोक्षसरणेः³ सहकृत्वरीय

अन्येव भाति पुनरत्र भवद्गृहीता ॥ १५ ॥

यतिः — (आत्मगान) कदाचिदप्यनाकूतगर्भमभिदधाति न मायावी देवः ।

विदू — प्रभवन्ति भवादृशा एव महान्तः निजानुभावसदृशी सम्भावनां कर्तुम् ।

[पहवदि भवारिसा एव महन्ते⁴ णिआणुभावसरिसं सभावणं कादुं]

दारुः — अत्रभवत्साजिध्यादेव प्रशसापदमस्माकं ⁵ सञ्चारः ।

बल — सन्मार्गदर्शनार्हाणि संसारतिमिरावृतम् ।

भवादृशानि ज्योतीषि नो चेदन्धतमं जगत् ॥ १६ ॥

यतिः — भवद्भूमिकयैव भगवान् क्रीडति विश्वम्भरः ।

न्यञ्चन्मौलि नृशंसकंसबहुलक्ष्माचक्रभाराक्रमात्

शेषस्यातिशिरालवामनगलं कृच्छ्रेण या तस्थुषी ।

नीते तत्र भवद्विरद्य लवुतां निर्यत्नमुक्तायत-

श्वासेयं लभते फणादशशती सोदग्रीविकामासिकाम् ॥ १७ ॥

बल — ⁶ भवादृशाराधने वा पावनी प्रवृत्तिरेवात्र निदर्शनम् ।

यतिः — भवद्गुणा एव धर्मेनन्दनं महाभागमनुस्मारयन्ति ।

1 कृष्णभक्तजनेषु. (क) 2. संस्तुतवत् (क) 3 मोक्षसरणीसह (क) 4. महत्ताण
अणुभाव (क) 5 ससार (क) 6. भवादृशाराधनपावनी प्रवृत्तिरेवात्र निदानम्. (क)

कृष्णः — भगवन् महाभाग इति किमुच्यते !

उन्मुक्तविषयं च त्वामुपस्नेहयते गुणैः ।

स राजा सहजप्रेममधुरै रधुनाऽप्यहो ॥ १८ ॥

चिद् — (जनान्तिक) अन्यादृशो देवस्य उपन्यासः ।

[अण्णगरिसो देव्वस्स उवण्णासो]

(ततः पटाक्षेपेण पुरुषः प्रविश्य पुरोऽवलोक्य च)

आ० सन्निहित एवाल यथाश्रुतसवादिवेषः कुमारः । प्रत्युत विषयामिच्छा एव चित्रमेव परिव्राजयति ।

(पुनर्निरूप्य)

अहो भगवतो विश्वम्भरस्यात्युदारगम्भीरो राजमहिमा !

प्रगल्भावष्टम्भं^१ प्रणयति स^२यत्नैव भगवान्

नटन्ती तत्र श्रीर्नमयति गिरांसि क्षितिभृताम् ।

असौ यावद्वाञ्छत्यलसमधुरस्पन्दनकलां

नियुज्जानाश्श्रोत्रं निभृतमुपसर्पन्त्यनुचराः ॥ १९ ॥

अनार्यदुर्योधनानुकूलः कामफलोऽप्यत्रैव तिष्ठति, यन्निमित्तेयमवस्था कुमारस्य ।

() ँ देवौ ।

चल — इह सुमन्त्र आस्यताम् ।

चिद् — (जनान्तिकं) एष सुमन्त्रकः कुम्भीलकं देव इव प्रच्छन्नरूपं त्वां दर्शयिष्यति ।

[एसो सुमंतओ कुम्भीलओ देव्वो विअ पच्छण्णरूपं तुम दस्सइस्सदि]

धन — मैव^३माशङ्कस्व, अप्रति^४ हतप्रतिभादृष्टिरन्वितार्थनामा खल्वय सुमन्त्रः ।

सुमन्त्रः — भगवन्नयमुपहारपरिणामः प्रणामः ।

धन — अथवा उच्छ्वसितोऽसि ।

१ : — ^५ आवसरिकाः खलु नागरिकाः ।

सुमन्त्रः — (यतिं प्रति) अपि भगवतो निर्विघ्ना तीर्थयात्रा ?

यतिः — अथकिम् । अपि कुशलं महाभागस्य सपरिवारस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य ?

1 चष्टभा. (क) 2. प्रणयति दृश यत्र भगवान्. (क) 3 आशङ्क (क) 4 अप्राहित (क) 5. (स्वगतम्) (क)

सुमन्त्रः — सम्प्रति विशेषेण तीर्थयात्राप्रतिनिवृत्तेऽत्रभवति ।

बल — धर्मनन्दनेन धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तस्य ते किमिहागमने कारणम् ?

सुमन्त्रः — अत्र भवत्सन्निधानाय कृतादरस्य महाराजधर्मनन्दनस्यादेशः ।

कृष्णः — (अपवार्य) आर्य किमनोत्तरम् ?

बल — (स्वगतम्) भवत्वेव तावत् । (प्रकाश) सुमन्त्रक ! अस्मद्वचनादेवमावेदनीयः स राजर्षि ! सम्प्रत्यनुयायिनि यदृच्छासमागते भगवति चरणपरिचरणश्रद्धैवापराध्यति ।

“ अर्हदाराधनी सम्पदास्माकी भवतां न किम् ।

यदेकगृहधर्माणो यदुमिस्सह भारताः ” ॥ २० ॥

कृष्णः — साधु सन्दिष्टमार्येण ।

सुमन्त्रः — यथा मन्यन्ते^१ यदव (इति प्रणम्य निष्क्रान्त)

धन — (सस्नेहानुरोध अपवार्य) सखे ! चिरदृष्टबन्धुः पर्युत्सुकोऽस्मि ।

विदू — अचिरेण वधूसनाथ एव बन्धुजनं प्रेक्षिष्यसे ।

[अदरेण बहूसणाहो एव बन्धुजगं पेक्षिस्ससि]

कृष्णः — (कमण्डलुकण्ठवेष्टितहारं^२ निर्दिश्य सोत्प्रास) भगवन् कुतोऽयमपूर्वो हारः ?

यतिः — महाभाग ! सोऽयमुपहारितश्चित्ररथेन । किमनेन वीतस्पृहाणामस्माकम् उपयुज्यतां भवता । (इति कमण्डलुकण्ठादपनीय कृष्णस्य करे हारमर्पयति)

कृष्णः — (आदाय) अमुना पुनरपूर्वकुतूहलिनी वत्सां सुभद्रां^३ प्रसाधयिष्यामः ।

बल — साधु समर्थिन कृष्णेन ।

विदू — (अपवार्य) वयस्य ! मनोरथानुकूलं सबृत्तम् ।

[वजस्तं मणोरहाणुकूलं सउत्तम्]

(नेपथ्ये)

वैतालिकाः — सुखाय माध्यन्दिनी सन्ध्या भवतु सबलदेवस्य देवकीनन्दनस्य । सम्प्रति हि—

ससारस्येव तापं दिनकरमहसो^४ वाञ्छता निस्तरीतुं

निर्वेशाय त्वदीयं यश इव विमलं कल्पते दीर्घिकाम्भः ।

1 अनुग्रहेच्छया (क) 2 (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 3 मन्यते देव इति (क) 4 निर्वर्ण्य (क)

5 सभाजयाम (क) 6 वाञ्छता (क) वाञ्छितान्निस्तरीतुं (ख)

प्रीत्यै त्वन्नामवर्णावलिरिव हृदयग्राहिणी हारमाला

त्वन्मूर्तिध्यानलीलाक्षण इव सुरर्गिर्गन्धसारः सुखाय ॥ २१ ॥

यतिः — प्रत्यासीदति माध्यन्दिनी सन्त्योपस्थानवेले ।

कृष्णः — आर्य ! ^१ अत्रभवतो निवासोचितं स्थानं

बल — वसन्तोद्यानमण्डपमेव ।

कृष्णः — अये ! ^२ दारुक ! वसन्तोद्यानमार्गमादेशय ।

बल — भगवन् ! वयमप्यभ्यन्तरं प्रविशामः ।

(इति कृष्णेन सह सपरिवारो निष्क्रान्तः)

*

धन — अहो वसन्तावतारसुखं रामणीयकमारामस्य !

निर्विष्टभृङ्गनिवहं परपुष्टचञ्चुसन्दृष्टं हकारलताप्रवालम् ।

आवृन्त ^३सन्धिहसिताग्निवप्रसून^४ वासन्तिकासुरभितं^५ वनमेतदास्ते २२ ॥

(स्पर्शसुखमभिनीय)

सरजसमकरन्दस्यन्दजम्बालितासु

प्रमदवनमहीषु प्रस्वलन्तः किलैते ।

मलयगिरिसमीरा मन्दमन्दं चरन्ति

प्रतिपदमलिपङ्क्तप्रस्तरन्यासपूर्वम् ॥ २३ ॥

विदू — साधु साधु दामोदरेण धनगृहे चोर इव कन्यकाविहारोपवने निवेशितो वयस्य ।

[साधु साधु दामोदरेण धनघरे चोरो विअ कृष्णआविआरोववणंमि णिवेसिअ वअस्सो]

धन — (सानुस्मरणं)

तस्या वनान्तवसतिस्थानेन किं केकिनां

नेत्रे चेज्जलदुर्गवृत्तिरुचिता नीलोत्पलाम्भोजयोः ।

1 किं. (क) 2 सारसक (क) *कञ्चुकी—इत इतो भगवन् ! तदिदं वसन्तोद्यानमण्डपम् ।
प्रविशतु भवान् (इति निष्क्रान्तः) (क) पुस्तकेऽधिक पाठ 3 गन्धि. (क) 4 प्रसूनम् (क)
5. सुरभिल (क)

वक्षोज¹प्रथिमा यदि क्षितिभृतां बज्राहतिर्युज्यते

²दृष्टं चेद्गमनं गजस्य कियती हिञ्जीरबन्धव्यथा ॥ २४ ॥

(पुनः सवैधुर्यम्)

प्रस्थानाय विलसिनीं³प्रति यदा प्रास्तावि मच्चेतसा

तस्या लोचनखञ्जनः प्रववृते तस्मिन् क्षणे दक्षिणम् ।

लोलभ्रू भुजगीति रस्मितसुधावृष्टिश्च⁴ यत्प्रावृतं

तन्मन्ये पुनरस्य संशय⁵कथारूढं⁶परावर्तनम् ॥ २५ ॥

विद् — वयस्य अलं परिदेवितेन । एतद्विविक्तरमणीयं संयुक्तकुसुमफलादिसम्भारं मण्डपाभ्यन्तरं
प्रविश्य विश्राम्यावः ।

[वयस्स अलं⁷ परिदेविदेण, एवं विविक्तरमणिज्जं सणिहिद फलादिसंभारं मण्ड-
पाभ्यन्तरं पविसिअ विस्समामो]

धन — तथा । (इति निष्क्रान्तः)

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः

1 प्रतिमा. (क) 2 हृद्य चेत् (क) 3 यदि तदा प्रास्तावि ... (ख) 4 यत्प्राप
तत्. (क) 5 पथारूढ. (क) 6 पुरावर्तनम्. (ख) 7. अदिप्पसणेण (क)

अथ तृतीयोऽङ्कः

— . —

(ततः प्रविशति राजपण्डितः । सनिर्वेदं)

राज्ञामन्तःपुरमनुदिनं प्रश्रयेण प्रवेश्यं

¹ नाडीयोगःस्थविरपृथुकस्त्रीषु कार्यः प्रयोगः ।

इच्छापथ्यं ²प्रभुवरमतं केन साध्या चिकित्सा

जीवं धिगिदमगदङ्कारिता जीवित नः ॥ १ ॥

आदिष्टोऽस्मि तत्रभवता बलदेवेन सुभद्राया बलवदस्वस्थतानिदानमवगन्तुम् । अव-
गतं च नवयौवनलब्धावसरो मकरध्वज एवात्रास्यापराधयति ।

अस्या नूतनभिन्नकैतकदलस्वच्छा कपोलच्छविः

सद्यो जर्झरितार्द्रचन्दनबिसोशीरः शरीरज्वरः ।

कान्तिं किं नु कलानिधेरिव कलत्रक्षयेऽपि पुष्पा³त्यसौ

तस्मादस्य गदस्य दुष्परिहरः शङ्के प्रकारोऽपरः ॥ २ ॥

तदेतदत्रभवते बलदेवाय निवेदयामि (इति परिक्रामति ⁴)

(तदनुपदं प्रविश्य सम्भ्रान्ता कल्यवती)

कला — आर्य चन्द्रगुप्त ! भर्तृदारिकायाः आतङ्कप्रतीकारं अनिर्धार्य कथं गतोऽसि ?

[अय्य ' ' ⁵ भट्टिदारिआए आदंगप्पडिआरं अणिघ्दारिअ कहं गवोऽसि]

चन्द्रगुप्तः — हञ्जे कल्यवति ! अस्मच्चिकित्सादुष्परिहरोऽयमस्यास्तरुणिमपरिणतः संज्वरः ।

कला — (स्वगतं) अनेनापि ज्ञातो मदनाभिषङ्गः । एवं भवतु । (प्रकाशं) आर्य !

किमपि कथितव्यमस्ति ।

[णेण वि जाणिदो मअणाहिंसंगो । एव्वं होवु । (प्रकाशं) अय्य किं वि कहिदव्वं अत्थि ।]

चन्द्र — तत्किम् ?

कला — (उपसृत्य, कर्णे) एवमिव ।

[एवं विअ]

1. नारीयोग . (ख) 2 प्रभुबहुमत (क) 3 पुष्पत्यसौ (क) 4 निष्क्रामति (क)

5 चन्द्रउत्त (क)

चन्द्र — आ कथमेवैतत् !

तुप्यति रुप्यति शून्यं ध्यायति निध्यायति श्वसित्यन्तः ।

रोदिनि हसति स्विद्यति रोमाञ्चति वेपते च बालेयम् ॥ ३ ॥

(सस्मित) अहो गरुडध्वजस्याप्यहिभयमुत्पन्नम् । यदस्य धनञ्जयसुहृदो दुर्योधनोप-
जापात् ज्यायानेव प्रतिपन्थी । हञ्जे तथैव मन्त्रयन्त्रसाधनीयः प्रयोग इति बलदेवाय
निवेदयामि । त्वमपि साधय भर्तृदारिकाया यथोचितोपचाराय ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

मिश्रविष्कम्भः ।

(ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थो विदूषकेन सह धनञ्जयः)

ध —

श्रवणमधुरं श्रावं श्रावं विनोदकथासुधां

बलयितकुचं वाहं वाहं रहस्युपगूहनम् ।

घनमृगमद प्राय प्रायं कपोलतलं मुदा

क्षणमिव कदा नेप्ये कान्तासखश्शयने निशाः ॥ ४ ॥

(सानुस्मरणम्)

व्रीडालोलं भयमुकुलित विसयस्मेरतारं

प्रीतिस्निग्ध मदधिकरण प्रेक्षित यन्मृगाक्ष्या ।

तज्जानीमस्तरुणिमफलं नर्मणां मर्मशृङ्गं

शृङ्गारस्य प्रणयहृदय मन्मथब्रह्मतत्त्वम् ॥ ५ ॥

(मदनबाधां निरूपयन्)

रे रे विषमायुध !

सव्यसाचिन्त्रपि कथं शस्त्राणि मयि मुञ्चसि ।

प्रागेव तव पञ्चेषोरनङ्गत्व बलं न चेत् ॥ ६ ॥

विदू — (स्वगत) अतिभूमिं गतोऽस्य मन्मथेन्मादः (प्रकाश) वयस्य इत इतः ।

वसन्तोच्चावलक्ष्मीदर्शनेन आत्मानं विनोदयावः ।

[अतिभूमिं गतो से मन्मथोन्मादो । (प्रकाशं) वयस्स इदो इदो । वसन्तोच्चावल-
लच्छीर्बसणेन अत्ताणं विनोदेह]

धन — यद्भवते रोचते (इति परिक्रम्य, समन्तादवलोक्य)

उदक्तदम्पतिभिर्नुमदमन्मथेभैरुन्मुक्तकण्ठकलकण्ठकुलैरहोभिः ।

मानन्दरान्धभरमन्थरगन्धवाहैर्हा हन्त कन्दलितमध्वगदुर्विपाकैः ॥ ७ ॥¹

(अन्यतोऽवलोक्य)

*केय वञ्चनचातुरी क्षितिरुहामध्वन्ययूनाममी

विष्वक्कीर्णपरागचूर्णनिवहव्यामोहितानां पुरः ।

हत्वा मानधनानि पल्लवकरानुत्ता³नयन्तः स्वयं

व्याक्रोशन्ति कुहूः कुहूरिति पिकव्याहारकोलहलैः ॥ ८ ॥

(स्पर्शसुखमभिनीय)

पवनपथिकः पायं पाय प्रसूनरसासव

परिमलपरीवाहस्रोतोऽवगाढ्य पदे पदे ।

प्रतितरुपथ पश्चाल्लम्बां प्रतीक्ष्य मधुश्रिय

परभृतगिरः श्रावं श्राव प्रयाति शनैश्शनैः ॥ ९ ॥

(पुनस्तन्तापमभिनीय)

दीपयन्त्येते हृदये विरहानलम् ।

प्रविष्टाः पञ्चबाणेषुमार्गवातायनैरिव ॥ १० ॥

विद् — यानि मनोरमानि तान्येव विरहिजनदुस्सहानि भवन्ति । तत् त्वमवलम्बस्व नैस-
र्गिकं धीरत्वम् ।

[जाइ मणोरमाइ ताइ एव्व विरहिजण दुस्सहाइ होदि । ता तुम अवलम्बेहि णिस-
गिअं धीरत्तणं]

धन — (सनिर्वेदं)

पुरः पुरः पुष्पलताः पदे पदे स्मरागमप्राथमकल्पिकाः पिकाः ।

मामन्वगच्छन्मरुतस्सुगन्धयः कथं ध्रिये, यामि कुत, करोमि किम् ॥ ११ ॥

विद् — इतो वसन्तोद्यानलक्ष्मीमुकुर इव लतावलयनिचोलितः कल्लोलतरलकमलदोलखेल-
त्कलहसमिथुनधरः कमलाकरः ।

[इदो वसन्तोज्ज ति⁴मुउरो विअ लदावलअणिचोलिदो कल्लोलतरलकमल-
डोलखेलंतकलहसमिहुणहरो कमलाअरो]

1 अयं श्लोक. (क) पुस्तके नास्ति 2 सेय (ख) 3 उत्तारयन्त (क) 4 विलास
मुउरो (क)

धन — (परिक्रम्यावलोक्य)

स्निह्यत्सम्मुखचक्रवाकमिथुनप्रस्तोभयाग्रैर्विसै-

र्वीणादण्डशतैरिवोपघटितालबूयुगैरञ्चितः ।

कासारः कलहससारसकलव्याहारहारी पुरो

गीताभ्यासगृह चकालि वरुणस्त्रीणामिव स्फाटिकम् ॥ १२ ॥

(स्पर्शसुखं नाटयित्वा)

कल्लोलशीकरधरः^१ कमल^२वरामोदसौहृदकषायः ।

कासारमारुतोऽयं क्रमते बहिरङ्गतापमपनेतुम् ॥ १३ ॥

विदू — पदे पदे मया संविहितैः शिशिरोपचारैरपि न अन्तरङ्गसन्तापः

किमिदानीं कासारमारुतः ।

[पदे पदे मय संविहिदेहि तिसिरोवआरेहि^३ वि ण णिहणबिज्जइ अन्तरङ्गसम्वादो किं वारिण कासारमारुतो^४]

धन — (सकौतुकोत्कण्ठं)

पश्यन्ति किञ्चन परस्परमामृशन्ति श्लिष्यन्ति चञ्चुषु विसं परिवर्तयन्ति ।

कूजन्ति मुग्धकलकोमलकाकुगर्भ रागाकुलानि मिथुनानि रथाङ्गनाम्नाम् ॥ १४ ॥

विदू — सकलदम्पतिप्रणयनिदर्शनं खलु एतेषां भावनिबन्धनम् ।

[सअलदंपदिप्पणअणिदंसणं कलु एदाण भावणिबन्धणम्]

धन — तदेतेषु विहङ्गमिथुनेषु विनोदयावश्चक्षुषी । (इति विलोकयन् स्थितः)

(ततः प्रविशन्ति सुभद्रा सख्यौ च)

सुभद्रा — असन्तुष्ट ! हृदय ! कथं उत्ताम्यसि ; यतः वसन्तोद्यानमण्डपे तव मनोरथबन्धनं

आर्यदामोदरेण सन्निधापितः स महाभागः । अपि च तस्य महेश्वरचन्द्रलेखा . . .

सौभाग्यपताका एषा हारावली विरहविनोदिनी उपलब्धा ।

[असंतुष्ट हिअअ कथं उत्तम्मसि । जदो वसन्तोज्जाण मंडवमि तुह मणोरहबन्धणं अय्य-
दामोदरेण संणिहाविदो सो महाभाओ । अवि अ तस्स महेश्वर चन्द्रेखा णेअण
सोहगपडाआ एषा हारावली विरहविणोदिनी^५ उवलद्धा]

^६(इति चिन्ताव्यासङ्गं नाटयति)

1 किरः (क) 2 वना (क) 3. णणिवावइज्जइ (क) 4. मारुदेण (क) 5. तु ए उवलद्धा. (क) 6 (ख) पुस्तके नास्ति ,

सख्यौ — सखि ! हारावलीदत्तदृष्टिरन्यतः परिक्रामसि । इतो मार्गं प्रतिपद्यस्व ।

[हला हारावलीदिण्णदिट्ठी अण्णदो परिवक्कमसि । इदो मग्ग पत्ति]

सुभद्रा — (प्रतिबुध्य) अद्यापि न पर्यवसिताः सहकारवीथ्यः ।

[अज्ज वि ण पज्जवसिदाओ सहआरवीहीओ]

भ्रम — प्रच्छायशीतलास्वेतासु कथं क्लाम्यसि ? इतो नानिदूरे किल ते कृतकपुलिका वासन्तिका, यस्याः प्रथमकुसुमोद्गममहोत्सवदर्शनार्थं प्रस्थिताः सः ।

[पच्छाअसीदलासु एदासु कह किलम्मसि । इदो णादिदूरे किल दे किदअवुत्तिआ वासन्तिआ । जाए पढमकुसुमोग्गममहोत्सवदंसणत्थ पत्थित हा]

वास — नातिदूरमिति किं भण्यते । एतत्खलु सौभाग्यदेवताराधनोचितं माधवीमण्डपम् ।

[णातिदूरं ति किं भणिज्जइ । एवं कखु सोहग्गदेवदाराहणोइदं माहवीमण्डपम्]

सुभद्रा — (अञ्जलिं घटयति)

वासन्तिका — (किञ्चिदन्तरं गत्वा) एष खलु कौमारविहारहृदयङ्गमः क्रीडापर्वतः ।

[एसो कखु कोमारविहारहिअअङ्गमो कीडापव्वदो ।]

सुभद्रा — (सनिर्वेद) ईदृशीमवस्थामनुभवितुं अतिक्रान्तः खलु स्वच्छन्दविहारमनोहरः स कालः ।

[ईरिसं अवत्थं अणुहोदुं अदिक्कन्दो कखु सच्छन्दविहारमणोहरो सो कालो]

वास — (पदान्तरे स्थित्वा) तदेतत्कदलीगृहं यत् त्वया सामुद्रिकलक्षणपरीक्षाकुशलाय तस्मै आत्मा समर्पितः ।

[तं एव कदलीघरं जत्थ तुए सामुद्धिअलल्लणपरिल्लवाकुसलसस से अप्पा समप्पिदो]

सुभद्रा — (सोत्कण्ठं, रतिसङ्गं रूपयति)

भ्रम — इतः कमलाकरमन्तरेण वासन्तिकास्वयंवरवल्लभो दृश्यते तपनीयाशोकपादपः । तत् त्वरिततरं गच्छामः ।

[इदो कमलाअरं ¹ अन्दरेण वासन्दिआसअवरवल्लहोदिस्सइ तवणीआसोअपादवो । ता तुवरिददर गच्छंह]

(इति सर्वाः परिक्रामन्ति)

— (कर्णं दत्त्वा)

उद्ग्रीवैरुपरतपद्मिनीविहारैरारुढैस्तटमवकर्णितो^१ मराजैः ।

अत्रैवागमनमनुक्षणप्रसर्पी कस्याश्चित्कथयति नृपुत्रप्रणादः ॥ १५ ॥

1. उत्तरेण (क) 2 तटमिव कीर्णितो (क)

(विमृश्य)

सा मनोरथप्रियतमा भवेत् ।

(पुनस्साकृतमाकर्ष्य)

चरणयुगमापतन्त्या शनैश्शनैरणितमञ्जुमङ्गीरम् ।

¹ खेदवशाद्गन्तव्यं कियदिति पृच्छति पदे पद इवास्याः ॥ ११ ॥

(पुरोऽवलोक्य — सहर्ष)

आः कथमन्तर्निखातरतिरमणबाणशल्यनिकर्षणविशल्यकरणीयमवतरति नयनसरणिम् ।

(विभाव्य)

नेत्रे निमीलयति बालरसालमार्गे

कर्णौ पिकध्वनिषु संवृणुते कराभ्याम् ।

गात्राणि संक्षिपति गन्धवहाभिपाते

वैकल्यमान्तरमियं चरितैर्व्यनक्ति ॥ १७ ॥

विद् — वयस्य ! आत्मनः अनुभूतमेव मणसि ।

[वयस्स अत्ताणो अणुहूदं एव्व भणसि]

धन — (सप्रणयकातर्य)

प्रस्रवलयतीव तनिमा प्रच्छादयतीव पाण्डिमाभोगः ।

कर्षन्तीव श्वासाः कान्तिः स्निग्धा तु न त्यजत्येनाम् ॥ १८ ॥

विद् — आवां निकुञ्जान्तरमार्गेण एताः अनुसरावः (उभौ तथा कुरुतः)

[अह्ये णिउज्जन्तरमार्गेण एदाओ अणुसरंह]

(उभौ तथा कुरुतः)

भ्रम — सखि सुभद्रे ! वसन्तयौवनावताररमणीयां वासन्तिकां पश्यन्त्य एव तपनीयाशोकमूले विश्राम्यामः ।

[हला सुहद्रे ! वसन्तज्ववणावताररमणिज्जं वासन्दिअं पेखन्तीओ एव्व तवणीआसोअ-
मूले विस्समामो]

(इति सर्वाश्चोपविशन्ति)

सुभद्रा — (निधस्य) अहो मन्मथेन अवस्थान्तरमानीताऽसि ; यदेतस्याः प्रथमकुसुमोद्गम-
महोत्सवः नाभिन्त्यते ।

[अहमे¹ वम्महेण अवत्थन्दर आणीदंहि । ज एदाए पढमकुसुमोगममहोस्सओ णाभि-
णदिज्जदि ।]

वाम — अचिरेणैव वल्लभेन सह अस्यास्सौभाग्यमभिनन्दिष्यसि ।

[अइरेणैव वल्लभेण सह इमाए सोहग अहिणदिदरससि ।]

धन — अपिनामैव सम्पत्स्यते ।

विदू — वयस्य ! इदानीमेव सम्पन्नमिति भण ।

[वअस्स दाणि एव सम्पण त्ति भणाहि]

सुभद्रा — (सनिर्वेद) प्रतिबन्धे सन्नद्धे प्रच्छन्ने कुतो वा कुमुदिन्या रजनीश्वरसमागम-
प्रत्याशा ।

[पडिबन्धे संणद्धे पच्छण्णे कुदो वा कुमुदिणीए लअणीसरसमाअमप्पच्चासा]

(प्रविश्य माधविका)

माधविका — जयतु भर्तृदारिका ।

[जेदु भट्टिदारिका]

सुभद्रा — अहो माधविका !

[अंहो माहविआ]

माध — (सरुयौ प्रति) आर्यबलदेवः अत्रभवतीराज्ञापयति ।

[अय्यबलदेवो अत्तहोदीओ आणवेदि]

सरुयौ — अवहिताः सः ।

[अवहिदम्ह]

धन — (साशङ्क) किमादिश्यते मुसलपाणिना ?

माध — वत्सायाः अस्वस्थतानिदाननिर्धारणनियुक्तेन चन्द्रगुप्तेन कथितम् ।

[वच्छाए अस्सत्थदाणिदानणिद्धारणउत्तेण चन्दगुत्तेण कहिदम्]

विदू — (सभयं) कथं कृतोऽस्या अनेन रहस्यभेदः ।

[कह किदो से णेण रहस्सभेदो]

सरुयौ — किमिति ?

[कित्ति]

माध — मन्त्रयन्त्रसाधनीय पुनराङ्कपरिहार इति ।

[मतजन्तसाहणिज्जो उण आदङ्गपडिहारो त्ति]

वास — (अपवार्य - सोत्प्रास) इयं किल कलावत्यास्संविधानचातुरी । (प्रकाशं) साधु
ग्रहगृहीतेति निर्धारिता सखी ।

[इअं किल कलावदीए संविहाणचादुरी [प्रकाशं] साहु गहगिहीदे ति णिद्वारिवा सही]

भ्रम — (जनान्तिकं) सखि सुभद्रे ! को नु खलु मन्मथादपरो ग्रहः । माधविके ततस्ततः ।
[हला सुहदे ! को णु कखु वम्महादो अवरो गहो () माहविए तदो तदो]

माध — तत् महाप्रभावस्य यतीश्वरस्य सन्निधानं युष्माभिः प्रत्यानेत्तव्या इति
[ता महप्पहावस्स जदीसरस्स सणिहाणं तुह्योहि पच्चअण्देव्वेत्ति]

वास — यद्येवं कृतार्था एषा तपस्विनी ।
[जदि एव्वं किदत्था एसा तपस्सिणी]

विदू — कस्य ! बलदेवेनैव संपाद्यते ते मनोरथः ।
[वअस्स ¹ बलदेव्वेणेव्व संपादिज्जादि दे मणोरहो]

धन — (सहर्षं)

परुषाशनिपातशङ्कया क्रमते यस्य भयाय गर्जितम् ।
तत एव तदित्वतो भवत्यमृतासारतुषारसेचनम् ॥ १९ ॥

भ्रम — आर्यस्य नियोग मनुतिष्ठामः । माधविके त्वमपि नियोगमशून्यं कुरु ।
[अय्यस्स णिओअं अणुचिट्ठम्ह । माहविए तुमं वि णिओअं असुण्ण कुरु]

माध — तथा । [तहा] (इति निष्क्रान्ता)

वास — सखि ! आर्यबलदेवेनैव अनुमतगमनाऽसि । तस्य महाभागस्य सकाशं स्वच्छन्दं
गच्छामः ।

[हला अय्यबलदेव्वेणेव्व अणुमदयमणासि । तस्स महा सच्छन्दं गच्छम्ह]

सुभद्रा — तस्य यतेर्भावं परमार्थतोऽज्ञात्वा कथं स्वच्छन्दं गच्छामः ।
[तस्स जदिणो भावं परमत्थदो आज्ञाणिअ कहं गच्छम्ह]

धन — ² यत्प्रीतिस्पृहया यतिव्रतमिदं यत्नेन सन्धार्यते
सद्यन्ते च समं वसन्तपवनैश्चन्द्रातपा दुस्सहाः ।
नीयन्ते च निशाः कथञ्चन मया यद्वयानसङ्कीर्तनै-
र्भावज्ञे सरदेवते त्वमपि किं मत्प्रेम्णि मीमांससे ॥ २० ॥

1 दिट्ठिजा बलदेव्वेण (क) 2 यत्प्राप्तिस्पृहया (क)

(ततः प्रविश्य, पट्टाक्षेपेणोद्यानपालिका)

उद्यानपालिका — प्रतिदिनमेव कथं बलदेव' गृहीताश्च बालपादपाः परिभूयन्ते । तदिमं प्रवृत्तिमुग्रशासनाय तस्मै निवेदयामि ।

(इति परिक्रामति । पुरोऽवलोक्य)

आः कथमियं ससखीजना सुभद्रा स्वसंवर्धिताया वासन्तिकायाः प्रथमकुसुमसमृद्धि-
मालोकयन्ती तपनीयाशोकमूलमध्यास्ते । समाप्तिदृष्टामेनामापृच्छ्य गच्छामि (उपसृत्य)
स्वस्ति वत्सायै !

सुभद्रा — अयि मन्दारिके ! बालपादपसंवर्धनाधिकारं उज्जित्वा कथं निर्गतासि ?

[अयि मन्दारिए बाल वध्दणाहिआर अज्जिअ कह णिग्गदासि]

मन्दा — कस्यापि कपटकर्मन्दिनः शिष्येण कृतमुद्यानपाद'पात्ययमार्यबलदेवाय निवेदयितुम् ।

अम — अनेन ब्राह्मणेन किं चापलं कृतं ?

[णेण बह्मणेण किं चावलं किद]

मन्दा — येषां वृन्तश्लथनविधुरो वाति मन्दं नभस्वान्
भास्वानुसैः स्पृशति मृदुभिर्यानि च म्लानिशङ्की ।

युष्माभिर्यान्यपि सकलण कर्णपूरीक्रियन्ते

तानि स्वैरं तरुकिस्तल्यान्याच्छिनत्त्येष जाल्मः ॥ २१ ॥

विद् — एषा दास्याः सुता मयि अविनयमारोपयति ।

[एषा दासीए सुआ मयि अविणय आरोवेदि]

धन — निजाधिकारनिकाराः खलु नियोज्यजनाः ।

वास — इदानीं किल स धिक्त्रसे यत्नेन यतिना पूजो गीर्ति बालोद्यानसामग्री ।

[दाणिं किल सफलो तुह अहिआरो ज तेण जदिणा पूजोपकरणीकरिज्जादि
सामग्गी]

मन्दा — कथमस्मिन् कितवचरितानुबन्धिनि कर्मन्दिनि नियममारोपयसि ?

धन — कोऽयं प्रस्तुतविरोधी प्रसङ्गः ?

सुभद्रा — (सभयकौतुक) सखि वासन्तिके किमेतत् ?

[हला वासन्दिए किं एद]

दा । — मन्दारिके ! महानुभावस्य यतेः दूषणं मा कुरु ।

[मन्दारिके महाणुभावस्य जदिणो दूषणं मा करेहि]

भ्र — अथवा किं तस्य दृष्टं कितवत्त्वम् ?

[अथवा किं तस्स दिट्ठं किदवत्तणं]

मन्दा — अमुना पुनरमनागुन्मनायमानेन दिवानिश देवतार्चनमपदिश्य शिष्योपहृतानि पल्लवानि विरहशयनीयतामुपनीयन्ते ।

मखयौ — (सस्मि । परस्परमवलोकयत.)

सुभद्र — (सलज्जं तिष्ठति)

दि — हन्त ! महान् प्रमादः ।

[हन्त महन्तो पमादो]

धन — जाने बलस्य ¹ पैशुन्यान्म युमुद्दीपयेदिति ।

प्रीणायथापि कान्तयै प्रेम²ससूचनादियम् ॥ २२ ॥

मन्दा — (स्वगत) किमेतदङ्कुरयति शङ्कामासामाकृतम् । भवतु जानामि (प्रकाशं)

अहेतु पश्यत्यपदे विमुह्यत्यलक्ष्यमाख्याति हसत्यकाण्डे ।

शूल्यं स रोमाञ्चनि वेपते च व्यनक्त्यनङ्गग्रहवैमनस्यम् ॥ २३ ॥

भ्रम — मन्त्रवादिनो यतीश्वरस्य कुनो वा ग्रहविमोहनं भवेत् ?

[मन्त्रवादिणो जदीसरस्स कुदो वा गहविमोहणं हवे]

सुभद्रा — (सलज्जस्मित परावर्तते)

धन — अन्तःकरणवशीकरणचूर्णमुष्टिरस्या स्मितचन्द्रिका ।

³ वाणी नर्मगिरा बहिरन्तस्त्रपथा ⁴ च नीयमानेयम् ।

अनयोरिव दाक्षिण्यादधरपदोलङ्घनाय सन्दिग्धे ॥ २४ ॥

मन्दा — (वासन्तिकामपवार्य) अपि सत्यमेवाय प्रच्छन्नो धनञ्जय इति ।

गम — अयि मन्दारिके अस्मात्वेकतमा खलु त्वम् ! (कर्णे) एवमेवेद ; सम्बरेणीय एष वृत्तान्तः ।

[अयि मन्दारिके अह्मेसु एकतामा खलु तुम (कर्णे) एवं एव एव । संवरणिज्जो एस वुत्तन्तो]

मन्दा — (स्वगतम्) भवत्वेव तावत् । (प्रकाश) वत्से त्वयि निवेदितवृत्तान्ता तत्र
भवते बलदेवाय नापराध्यामि । तद्यथागत गच्छामि । (इति निष्क्रान्ता)

धन — उच्छ्वसितोऽस्मि ।

अम — दिष्ट्या आर्यबलदेवगामी यतिविरहवृत्तान्तो निगूहितः ।
[दिष्टिआ अर्यबलदेवगामी जदिविरहउत्तन्तो निगूहिदो]

सुभद्रा — विरहपर्युत्सुकस्य एतस्य बहुबलभता शङ्क्यते ।
[विलहपज्जुस्सुअस्स एदस्स बहुबल्लहदा सङ्कावेइ]

धन — इदानीमेव दर्शयिष्याम्यात्मानम् ।

विदू — यथा भवान् मन्यते ।
[जह भव मण्णेदि]

धन — (सहसोपसृत्य)

बहुबलभ इति शङ्कां भामिनि पश्चादिमां परिहरामि ।
त्वत्कर्णगोचरतया 'शमितप्रायश्शरीरसन्तापः ॥ २५ ॥'
(धनञ्जयमवलोक्य सर्वा यथायथमुपचारमाचरन्ति)

विदू — स्वस्ति भवत्यै ।
[सोत्थि होदिए]

सख्यौ — अपि कुशलं महाभागस्य ?
[अवि कुसलं महाभागस्स]

धन — इदानीमुपपन्नम् ।

सख्यौ — महाभाग! तव कृते बलवदुत्तम्यन्त्या अस्याः किं भण्यते शरीरसन्तापः ।
[महाभाअ तुह किदे बलीअ णिए इमाए किं भणिज्जइ सरीरसन्तावो]
(सस्कृतमाश्रित्य)

न मुरभिदपनीत पारिजातो यदीमा-
मुपचरितमुदारैः पल्लवैस्सन्निधत्ते ।

मदनकदनतापव्यापदुत्तारणार्हा.

कथमितरतरूणां सम्पदः किम्पचानाम् ॥ २६ ॥

सुभद्रा — (सलज्जमधोमुखी तिष्ठति)

विद् — (सख्यौ प्रति) एतस्य विरहदशोपन्यासिन्या उद्यानपालिकया लवूकृतः खलु मे भारः ।
[एदस्स विरहदसोवण्णासिणीए उज्जाणपालिआए लहूकिदो ष्खु मे भारो]

धन — कथमिदानीमुदासीनेव लक्ष्यते युवयोस्सखी ?

सख्यौ — महाभाग ! अपरं न किमपि तीर्थयात्राचिरप्रवासेन दुर्मनायते ते प्रियतमा ।
[महाभाअ अवर ण किं वि तित्थजत्ताचिरप्पवासेण दुम्मणाअदि दे पिअदमा ।]

धन — अयि ! धनञ्जयमनोरथसंसिद्धितीर्थसाधीयसि प्रेयसि ! प्रसीद ।
कृष्णा कचे कुचे तुङ्गा ¹ शोणच्छाया रदच्छदे ।
नर्मदाऽऽलोकने च त्वं बाहुदा मे भवाधुना ॥ २७ ॥

(नेपथ्ये)

भर्तृदारिके ! सान्दीपनिना गुरुणा निजपुत्रकस्य सवननिर्वहणनिमित्तं आहूत आर्य-
दामोदरः अस्वस्थशरीरा त्वमिति श्रुत्वा आगन्तुमभिलषति ।

[भट्टिदारिए, सान्दीवणिणा गुलुणा णिअपुत्तअस्स सवणणिव्वहणणिमित्तं आहूवो अय्य-
शामोदरो अस्सत्थसरीरा तुमं त्ति सुणिअ आगन्तुं अहिलसदि]

(सर्वेऽप्याकर्ण्य विषाद नाटयन्ति)

वास — अहो आर्यदामोदरपरिचारिका परभृतिका व्याहरति ।

[अहो अय्यदामोदरपरिआरिआ परहुदिआ वाहरइ]

भ्रम — (अपवार्य, सोपहासं) सखि सुभद्रे ! कृतार्था इदानीं वयम् । आर्यबलदेव एव
योगक्षेमचिन्तन करिष्यति ।

[हला सुहदे किदत्था दाणिं अहो । अय्यबलदेवो एव्व योगक्खेमचिन्तणं करिस्सदि]

सुभद्रा — (स्वगतं) किं करोमि मन्दभागिनी ।

[किं करोमि मन्दभाइणी]

धन — चेष्टितं कृष्णे प्रोषिते स्यात्सुदुस्तहम् ।

धर्मातपप्रतीकारः कथं छायातरुं विना ॥ २८ ॥

विद् — अन्तरायानुबन्धिनी खलु मनोरथसिद्धिः ।

[अन्तराआणुबन्धिणी खलु मणोरहसिद्धी]

सख्यौ — (अपवार्य) सखि सुभद्रे आमन्त्रय एनं महाभागम् ।

[हला सुहदे आमन्तेहि ण महाभाअं]

1. नदे शोणाघरच्छदे. (क)

सुभद्रा — (वाक्स्तम्भ नाटयति)

मख्यौ — वयस्य अस्माकं मुखेन सुभद्रा भणति । पराधीनोऽयं जनः ; तदनुमन्यस्व गमनाय ।
[वयस्स अह्माण मुहेण सुहृदा भणादि । पराहीणो अयं जणो । ता अणुमण्णेहि]

धन — साधयन्तु पुनर्दर्शनाय भवत्य ।

सुभद्रा — (विश्लेषदुःख नाटयित्वा, सह सखीभ्यां निष्क्रान्ता)

धन — (सनिर्वेद) सकृदपि सम्मुखीन भाग्यं पुनरपि परावृत्तम् ।

वैतसिकव्यतिकरेण पृथग्निभिन्नां

कान्तां कथञ्चिदुपलभ्य रथाङ्गनामा ।

यावत्समाजयितुमिच्छति तावदेव

हा हा वियोगजननी रजनी प्रवृत्ता ॥ २९ ॥

विदू — अलं परिदेवितेन । दर्शिततादृशानुरागायाः तत्रभवत्याः समुद्रगामिन्या नद्याः
सैकतसेतुबन्ध इव क्रियते बलदेवस्य प्रतिबन्धः ।

[अलं परिदेविदेण । दसिदतारिसाणुराआए तत्तहोदिए समुद्रगामिणीए णवीए सेअद-
सेदुबन्धो विअ करिअदि बलदेवस्स पडिबन्धो]

धन — (अनुस्मृत्य सप्रत्याश) हा !

शौरैः प्रवासकथया शिथिलप्रायं मनोरथनिबन्धम् ।

प्रतिसन्दधते तस्याः प्रणयाद्रास्ते विलासविसम्भाः ॥ ३० ॥

विदू — हरजटाचन्द्रिकानयनपर्याप्तमनोरथस्य चित्ररथस्य वचनमपि ।

[हरजटाचन्दिआणयणपज्जत्तमणोरहस्स चित्तरहस्स वअणं वि]

धन — (सोल्लासं) अस्त्येतदत्तभवतस्ते सेवावसरमनुपालयन्नेव सञ्चरामीति ।

विदू — (प्रतीचीमवलोक्य) वयस्य क्रमसङ्कुचितातपनिमीलितकमलाकर इव : ।

[वअस्स कमसङ्कुइदातवणिमीदि अरो विअ वासरो]

धन — सवितुः प्रथमालोके छायोल्लसिता ¹च² न्तापे ।

सौम्यकरस्पर्शोऽस्मिन्नियतिवशान्नीयते परावृत्तिम् ॥ ३१ ॥

अपि च,

प्रत्यभिरीशमूर्धनि करं निधायाम्बरं विलङ्घ्यापि ।

प्रत्ययमाचरतीव प्रत्यागमनाय पद्मिनीषु रविः ॥ ३२ ॥

अपि च,

शैलानां गहनाद्वनेचरचमूमीमे तमालच्छद-

श्यामे चाक्षुषवस्तुहारिणि तमस्तोमे समुन्मीलति ।

¹ भास्वन्त क्षिपति क्षणेन वरुणाभीष्टा दिगष्टादश-

द्वीपाल²ङ्करणैकरलमपराकूपारकूपाम्भसि ॥ ३३ ॥

³ तत्रत्यासन्नचन्द्रातपमास्कन्दमानश्चक्रवाक इव सुतरां पर्याकुलोऽसि ।

विदू — वयस्य सर्वात्मिकासम्पाद्यमानविरहशयनीये लतागृहाभ्यन्तरे थमपि रजनी-
मपनय । अहमपि द्वारप्रान्ते निद्रासुखं लभे ।

[वअस्स सबत्तिआमिणालसम्पादिज्जन्तविरहसअणिज्जे लदाघरब्भन्दरमि जहक्कह वि
रअणि अवणेहि । अह वि दुवालपरन्तम्मि णिद्वासुहं लहेमि ।]

धन — तथा । (इति निष्क्रान्तौ)

तृतीयेऽङ्कः



1. चिक्षेपात्ममणि क्षणेन. (क) 2. अलङ्करण भियेव. (क) 3 तत्प्रसन्नचन्द्रात-
पास्कन्दनाशङ्कमानश्चक्रवाक इव (क)

सन्दर्भशुद्धिः

न. च. वे. नरसिंह

इन्द्रनीलमणिस्पर्धनिजदेहच्छविस्फुरा ।

शेषाद्रि मञ्जनगिरि य इचकार, स पातु नः ॥

चिरपत्तफंसदाए रेहइ पुहवी वराहदाढुबिखत्ता ।

ओल्लोल्ला वेवन्ती गिरितरुकिण्णा ससत्तिअविआरा व्व ॥

[चिरप्राप्तस्पर्शतया राजते पृथ्वी वराहदंष्ट्रोत्क्षिप्ता ।

आर्द्रार्द्रा वेपमाना गिरितरुकीर्णा ससात्विकविकारेव ॥]

कविकुलतिलकेन कालिदासेन विरचिते अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तले तादृशा. केचन सन्निवेशा. सन्ति, ये नाम आपाततो दृश्यमानाः अनन्विता इव दुर्बोधा इव परस्परविसवादिन इव च प्रतीयेरन् । परन्तु ते एव श्रद्धया परीक्षागोचरीक्रियमाणाः, पूर्वापरसन्दर्भपरिशीलनपुरस्सरं विमृष्टाः सन्तः सरसाः सुबोधा. सवादभाजश्च प्रकाशेरन् ।

तथा पूर्वं सन्दिग्धेषु तदनु सुष्ठु विदितेषु च केचन घट्टाः अत्र प्रदर्श्य विचार्यन्ते । सन्दिग्धानामिव स्थितानां विषयाणां विचारे प्रवृत्तानि मदीयानि कानि च न वाक्यानि अनन्वितानि स्यु रेव । तत्र मम मतिदुर्बलता सहृदया मर्षयेयु रिति विद्वास एव इदलेखलेखनघाष्ट्यं हेतु ।

स्य स्थितस्य विषयस्य तस्मा देव ग्रन्थात्, तदीया द्वा ग्रन्थान्तरात् कण्ठोक्तिसिद्ध-मभिव्यञ्जित वा उपोद्बलक प्रमाण प्रदर्श्य विशदीकरणे विधीयमानः प्रयत्न. औचित्यानुरोधीति सहृदयहृदय माराधयेत् । अत स्तदर्थं यत्नः यथामति विधीयते ।

१. 'इ त्यङ्गुलीय दातु मिच्छति' ।

'वृक्षसेचने द्वे मे धारयसि । एहि तावत् । आत्मान मोचयित्वा गमिष्यसि' (प्रथमेऽङ्के) इति व्याहरन्ती प्रियवदा बलात् शकुन्तला जिगमिषन्तीं निवर्तयति । शि षेमृदुलङ्घ्याः शकुन्तलायाः क्लेश किञ्चिदिव न्यूनीकर्तुं तया सेचनीयौ द्वौ तरु प्रियवदा स्वयं सिषेच । तत उत्तमर्णायाः तस्याः इयं सावष्टम्भोक्तिः ।

तद् दृष्ट्वा दयमानो दुष्यन्तः वृक्षसेचना देव परिश्रान्ता णि शकुन्तलां परित्रातु 'त दह मेना मनूणा करिष्यामि' इति वदन् अङ्गुलीयक दातु मिच्छति ।

इद मभिनयसौकर्याय रचित कविवचनम् । अत्र किञ्च द्विचरणीय मस्ति । प्राक् शकुन्तलार्थे प्रियवदया द्वौ द्रुमा वसिच्येता मिति शकुन्तला अधमर्णा संवृत्ता । प्रियवदार्थे स्वय द्वौ वृक्षा वासिच्येव श्रुद्धे इति न न्वेषा लौकिकी रीतिः । अथ च राजा शकुन्तलायाः प्रतिनिधीभूय तरु सिञ्चे ह्यदि ता ऋणा न्मोचिता विधात शक्नुयादपि । तदर्थं यत्न स्तु तस्मि न्वर्णनीयः ।

द्रुमद्वितयमेचनप्रतिनिधित्वेन बहुमूल्यस्य नाममुद्राङ्कितस्य अङ्गुलीयकस्य विश्राणनं किं युक्तरूपम्? तत्राऽपि मुनिकन्यकाविषये राज्ञः तथा प्रवृत्तिः किं मुचिता? आश्रमजीवनस्य धनस्य च सुदूर मन्तरम् । मुद्रिकादानेन किं तरुद्वयसेकः सम्पन्नो भवेत्? अथ च यस्मै कस्मै चन भूतिस्थाने मुद्रिका प्रदाय तेन च भूत्येन किं मेत त्कार्यं मत्र सुसाध स्यात्? तादृशः को वा तत्र लभ्येत? एव करणस्य तत्र सुकरता उचितता वा किं मस्ति?

अत्र व्याख्यातृणां माशय किञ्चिन् निर्दिशामि । अत्र केचन ब्राह्मणमिव प्रतीतमिति जोषम्भावमेव शिश्रियिरे । केचन यत्किञ्चिन् लिलिखुः ।

‘अङ्गुलीयक = अङ्गुल्याभरणं, दातु = वितरितुं, इच्छति = स्पृहयति’ इति मृत्युञ्जयभूपालीये ।

‘लोके प्रतिनिधिवस्तुदानेनाऽपि ऋणविमुक्तिदर्शनादिति भावः’ इति सारार्थदीपिका ।

श्री काले पण्डितोऽपि ‘He offers the ring’ इत्यादि लिखन् उपर्युपात्तव्याख्याद्वयभावाद्वैतमेव दर्शयति ।

‘अनृणां करोमि प्रतिनिधिद्रव्यदानादित्यर्थः’ इति लिखति शतावधानश्रीनिवासाचार्यः ।

‘राधवभट्ट, अष्टभाषाचक्रवर्ति श्रीनिवासाचार्यादयः प्रेक्षावन्तोऽत्र उपेक्षाञ्चक्रिरे । अतोऽत्र व्याख्यातृणां बहूनां मपि ‘वृक्षसेचनप्रतिनिधित्वेन’ इत्येकदानमभिसंहितमिति ज्ञायते ।

¹ परन्तु कश्चिन् तस्मिन्वयः सुकरः उचितश्च प्रतिभाति । दुष्यन्तः अङ्गुलीयकं न ऋणप्रतिनिधौ करोति, अपि तु स्वयं मालवालसेचनायैव उद्युङ्क्ते । लोके कश्चिन् त्करि कार्यं निमज्जन् हस्तसन्निहितवस्तु (अद्यत्वे मणिबन्धघटिकायन्त्रादिकमिव (wrist-watch) अन्यस्मै समर्प्य कर्तव्यं प्रवर्तते । तथा दुष्यन्तेनाऽपि वृक्षौ सेक्ष्यता इयमेव लोकवार्ता अनुहृदा । अतः अस्य वाक्यस्य ‘अङ्गुलीयं दातुं मिच्छति = प्रियंवदाहस्ते न्यासत्वेन निक्षेप्तुं (अवसिते कर्मणि पुनर्गृहीतुमेव) इच्छति’ इत्येवं विवरणं कर्तव्यं भवति ।

प्राचीनव्याख्यापरम्परां समर्थयमानं तत्र प्रयोजनमेव मुद्रावयितुं शक्यते । “दुष्यन्तेन किल प्राक् ‘यः पौरवेण राज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तः, सोऽहं माश्रमिणा मविघ्नक्रियोपलम्भाय धर्मारण्यमिदमायातः’ इति वदता स्वरूपं निगूहितम् । ततो मिथो गोष्ठ्यां प्रवर्तमानायां नायिका-नायकयोः परस्परमनुरागोऽङ्कुरितः । राजा च-‘भव हृदयसाभिलाषः’ इति हृदयमाशवासयति; प्रार्थनाफलप्यतीति विश्वसिति । सम्प्रति प्राप्तकालं स्वरूपाविष्करणम् । स्वयं मात्मापहारं कृतवान् स कथमेतर्हि स्वरूपमाविष्करोतु? अत एतमुद्घातमुद्घाव्य कुशलो दुष्यन्तः अङ्गुलीयकप्रदानमिषेण तत्र नामाक्षराणि प्रदर्श्य, आत्मस्वरूपमाविश्चकार । इदमेव परमं प्रयोजनं मुद्रिकादानप्रयत्नस्य । एतदभिसन्दधत् कविः ‘उभे नाममुद्राक्षराण्यनुवाच्य परस्परमवलोकयतः’ इति लिखति । ‘यदर्थं मयमारम्भः तत्कार्यं’ ननु साधितम् । अतः व्याजीकृतस्य एतस्य वृत्तान्तस्य विषये औचित्यविचारचर्चा न कार्या” इति ।

1 इयमनन्वयसरणिं श्रीमता राल्लपल्लि अनन्तकृष्णशर्मणा सहृदयशिरोमणीनां मुखात् आकणिता, तैश्च स्वगुरुमुखात् । तेभ्यः कृतज्ञता निवेदयामि ।

प्रयोजन मेत दुभयोः स्समान मिति, विशिष्य नवीनपक्षे पूर्वोक्तविधया औचित्यानुरोधः फल अधिक मिति हेम्न परमामोद । सहृदयाः प्रमाणम् ।

२. 'हन्त सिद्धार्थो स्वः !'

द्वितीयाङ्के मेतत् । रक्षोभ्यः सवनरक्षणाय राजानं मर्षयितुं द्वारभूमि-
गेः ऋषिकुमारयोर्वचनमिदम् । रङ्गभूमौ प्रवेशात्पूर्वमेव 'सिद्धार्थो स्वः' इति तयो रदोरण
कथं सङ्गच्छेत । तत् पूर्वञ्च प्रस्तुतं किन्नाम कार्यं, यत्र सिद्धार्थता प्रकटीक्रियेत । सम्भाषणस्याऽपि
प्रसक्तिर्नासीत् । यदि तथा स्यात्, तदालापसम्बद्धमेतद्वचनं स्यादपि । अतोऽसावकाण्डे
वचनोपन्यास इव भाति । 'अये धीरप्रशान्तः स्वरः, तपस्विभिर्भविष्यति' इति तद्वचनं माकर्ण्य
चिन्तयन्तमेव राजानं मभिगम्य दौवारिकः मुनिकुमारकागमनं निवेदयति । अतोऽयं दौवारिकः
ऋषिकुमारप्रेषित एव । अत एतस्य तयोश्च प्रागेव किञ्चिदिव सल्लापो बभूव इत्युहनीयम् ।
तद्वशात् ऋषिकुमाराभ्यां 'दुष्यन्तोऽत्र सन्निहित एव ; सुलभाभिगमदर्शनं च' इति दौवारिक-
मुखात् श्रुतवद्बुद्ध्या, अत एव 'अविलम्बेन समुचितदेशकालावस्थानुकूलं राजदर्शनं भविष्यति,
कार्यसिद्धिश्च करगतप्रायेव' इति ह्लादमानाभ्यां मुच्यं घृष्टमेतद्वचनं मस्थानपतितं न भवति ।
निर्विलम्बं निरन्तरायञ्च कार्यसाफल्यं सूचयतीति तयो रानन्दः सहेतुकः । अस्य
कवे रैतादृशो विश्वासोऽस्तीति विलम्भाय तदीयमेव वचनं ग्रन्थान्तरा दुद्धृत्य प्रदर्शयामि —

'ते च प्रापु रदन्वन्तं बुबुधे चादिपूरुषः ।

अव्याक्षेपो भविष्यन्त्याः कार्यसिद्धे हि लक्षणम् ॥' (रघुवशे १०-६)

(अत्र देवकर्तृकगमनहरिकर्तृकप्रतिबोधयो रविलम्बायौ चकारौ) ।

३. 'इति पुष्पोच्चयं निरूपयति' ।

चतुर्थाङ्कस्थ मभिनयसूचनतात्मकमेतत्कवेर्वचनम् । अस्याभिसन्धिः क इति किञ्चि-
द्विभ्रष्टव्यम् । शकुन्तला दुर्वाससा शप्ता । सख्यौ तत् शुश्रुवतुः । विकलहृदया अनसूया 'गच्छ'
पादयोः प्रणम्य निवर्तयन्तम् । यावद्दहं मध्योदकं गृहीत्वोपसर्पामि' इति कथयन्ती निष्क्रान्ता,
पदान्तरे स्खलति । 'अहो आवेगस्खलितायाः मम प्रभ्रष्टमग्रहस्तात्पुष्पभाजनं' मिति 'पुष्पोच्चयं
निरूपयति' । अस्य वाक्यस्याभावे का हानिः ? पुष्पभाजनभ्रशेन तु उद्विग्नता बोध्यते ।
तद्भाजनस्य निरूपणे—सावधानविलोकने प्रयोजनं किम् ?

बलिकर्मणे कुसुमा न्यवचेतुं प्रवृत्ते अनसूयाप्रियवदे । 'पर्याप्तानि कुसुमानि' इति वदन्तीं
प्रियवदा माक्षिष्य अनसूया 'ननु शकुन्तलाया स्सौभाग्यदेवता अर्चनीया' इत्युद्धोषयति । उभे पुनः
पुष्पाण्यवचिनुतः । अत्रान्तरे दुर्वाससा शकुन्तलां शशाप । तत अनसूयाहस्तात् पुष्पभाजनं
बभ्रश । तिष्ठ त्वेतत् ।

कश्चिच्छालोऽस्तीयाय । अथ 'एहि देवकार्यं तावदस्याः निवर्तयाव' इति प्रियंवदा
भणति । ते च परिक्रामतः । इति सन्दर्भः । पुष्पभाजनं किल हस्तादभ्रशत् । पुनः पुष्पाणि
नावचितानि । तथाऽपि पूजायै प्रवर्तते । पुष्पाणि विनैव किं पूजनं चिकीर्षितम् ?

अत्र किञ्चिच्छालोचिते एतत्स्फुरति । पुष्पोच्चयं निरूपयति—भाजनं यद्यपि हस्ताद्
भ्रष्टम् । तथाऽपि तत्रत्यानि पुष्पाणि भूमौ न व्यकीर्यन्त । पुञ्जीभूय भाजने तथैव तिष्ठन्ति ।

अन एना न्युपयोक्तु मर्हाण्येव । अत एव सा सप्रत्याश पश्यति । ततो 'देवकार्यं निर्वर्तयावः' इत्यादि वचनञ्च सङ्गच्छते ।

किञ्च । एव मुवत्तया अन्योऽपि कश्चिद्विषय प्रतीयते । अत्र पुष्पभाजनभ्रंशः अशुभनिमित्तमेव ; नाऽस्ति सन्देहः । अथाऽपि, तथा इदं भ्रष्टं यथा भाजनस्थानि कुसुमानि भूमौ विकीर्णानि बलिकर्मानर्हाणि च नाऽभूवन् । शकुन्तलासौभाग्यदेवताराधनेऽन्तरायो न कश्चिदपातत् । शकुन्तलायै दत्तं शापः अद्यत्वे दुःखावह एव । तथाऽपि कालान्तरे सर्वं शुभोदकमेव भविष्यतीत्यपि सूच्यत इति भविष्यद्दृष्टान्तव्यञ्जनं मत्र फलं भवति । शापः शाश्वतिकदाम्पत्य-सम्बन्धविच्छेदकविस्मृतिहेतुः न भविष्यति, अवसानेऽनुकूलपरिणामो भविष्यति इति द्योत्यते ।

४. 'त्वमर्हतां प्राप्नोसि न-

शकुन्तला मूर्निमनीव सत्क्रिया ।

समानय स्तुल्यगुण वधूवरं

चिराय वाच्यं न गतः प्रजापतिः' ॥

(५-१५)

अत्र काचन शङ्का, समाधानञ्च । 'तत्र श्लोकचतुष्टय' मिति सर्वतः श्लाघ्यमानेषु श्लोकेषु अस्मा न्नाष्टु विचिन्त्य' इत्यादि रम्यतमम् । दुहितरं पतिकुलं प्रहिण्वता कण्वेन राज्ञे शिष्यमुखेन सन्दिष्टोऽयं श्लोकः । अस्य श्लोकस्य बहुधा भावविशेषा न्वर्णयन्ति ; तं त्तिष्ठतु तथा ।

तथा भावपरिपूर्णं काश्यपेन सार्वभौमाय सन्दिष्टः, उत्तमे ध्वन्यतमं स्सन्नं प्ययं श्लोकः शाङ्गं रवेण, पञ्चमाङ्गे । न श्रावितः । कुतः ? काश्यपा दहं कवने चतुरतरं इत्यभिमानेन चातुरी मात्मनः प्रकटयितुं शाङ्गं रवः किमु स्वीयं पद्यं मन्यं त्पपाठः ? उत, सदोषः स श्लोकः इति मत्वा निर्दोषं कञ्चन स्वयं निर्माय एव स्वगुरोः प्रतिष्ठां ररक्षः ? उताहो, कीरव दुक्तस्यै वानुवादः आत्मनो ज्ञज्ञाकर इति शिष्योऽन्यतः ? आहोस्वित्, अकारणैव गुरुश्लोके उपेक्षा ?

यदि च शाङ्गं रवेण 'यन्मिथं स्समया दिमां मदीया दुहितरं भवा नुपायस्त, तं नमया प्रीतिमता युवयो रनुजातम् । कुतः ? त्वमर्हता' इत्यादि वचनोपन्यासः नैवाऽक्रियत, तदा वयं मन्येमहि - 'प्राप्तेऽवसरे स सन्देशः स्तेनं श्रावितः स्या'दिति । अत्र न तथा सन्दर्भोऽस्ति । सन्देशाकार एव खलु अन्यथाकृतः ।

अत्रेदं मालोचनीयम् । वनोका शशाङ्गं रवः राजधान्यां प्रविशन्नेव 'जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हृन्वहपरीतं वनमिव' इति कथयति । शारद्वतश्च तथाविधः 'अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः' इत्यादिना विषगासक्तेषु जनेषु घृणां प्रकटीकरोति । अत्र ताम्या स्थातुं मेव नाऽशक्यत । तयोश्चित्तवृत्तिः तादृशी । क्षणेन गुरोः कार्यं निर्वर्त्य वनाय प्रतिगन्तव्यं मिति तयोः स्तथा त्वरा । अतः कर्तव्य-लघूकरणे तयोः रभिलाषः । यदि सन्देशः दीर्घवृत्तमयः, तर्हि महान् कालः अपेक्ष्येत ; यदि लघुवृत्तमयः, क्षिप्रं परिसमाप्येत ।

अपि च । आ समारम्भादेव प्रणयवृत्तान्तं सप्रत्यभिजानानो दुष्यन्तः उदासीन इवाऽदृश्यत । शकुन्तला मदीयाऽपि अविकृतः 'कास्वि दवगुण्ठनवती' इत्यादिना ता वर्णयितुं मुपक्रम्याऽपि 'भवतु, अनिर्वर्णनीयं परकलत्र' मिति ब्रुवाण उदास्ते । किं मेतद्वचो नाऽश्रावि शाङ्गं रवेण ।

शकुन्तलाया त्वार्कणितमिति—‘हृदय, किं मेव वेपसे आर्यपुत्रस्य भाव मनवधार्थः ? धीर तावद्भूव’ इति तद्वचनादेव ज्ञायते । अनेनाऽपि तत् श्रुतं मेव स्यात् । साक्षात्सम्बद्धया तु तया हृदयाद्वासनं कर्तव्यमासीत् । अमुष्य तथाऽदसरो नासीदिति तूष्णीं मस्थीयत इत्युक्तं शक्यते । अत्र सन्दर्भे प्रवृत्तस्सल्लोपो यदि परीक्ष्यते दुष्यन्तस्य तदस्थिता प्रव्यक्तं भवगम्यते । तस्मिन् शकुन्तलास्वीकरणोन्मुखता, अन्ततः तत्पूर्ववृत्तस्मृतिचिह्नं वा नोपलभ्यते । अत एव लक्षयतः शाङ्गैरवस्य चेतसि शङ्कालेशः कश्चिद् दुदिया येति मन्तुं मस्त्यवकाशः । एष प्रकृत्या असहनः । कण्व इव लोकवृत्तज्ञो न भवति । स इवाऽनुकम्पावा न भवति । अत एव झटिति कर्तव्यं प्रतिनिवर्तितव्यमिति तस्याभिसन्धिः । ततो लघुभूतं श्लोकं पपाठ । इति कथञ्चित् समर्थयितुं शक्यत इति मन्ये ।

किञ्च । शाङ्गैरवो ‘गुरुशिष्यो गुरुसमः ।’ ततो गुरोर्हृदयं जानान तत्र सन्देशश्लोके स्थिता न्मुख्यान् भावविशेषान् द्योतयन्नेव ‘त्वमर्हतां प्राप्नस्यः’ इति पद्यान्तरं मररचत् । गुरुशिष्ययोः श्लोका विमौ एकत्र निधाय परस्परतोलनेन यदि किञ्चित् त्परीशीलयेम तदाऽयं विषयः स्फुटीभवति । पश्यत —

त्वमर्हतां प्राप्नस्य इत्युक्त्या ‘उच्चैः कुलञ्चात्मनः’ इत्ययं मशो बोधितः । ‘त्वम्यस्याः कथमपि’ इत्यत्र इदंशब्देन ध्वनितं शकुन्तलाया अभ्यहितत्वं अत्र ‘नः शकुन्तला मूर्तिमतीव सत्क्रिया’ इति वाक्याशेन सूचितम् । ‘बन्धुभिः परिकल्पितः प्रोत्साहितो वा नाऽयं सम्बन्धः ; परन्तु विधिर्नैव विरूपघटनास्वारसिकप्रवृत्तिमत्त्वकृतं मयशः परिमार्ष्टुं कामेन घटितः’ इति बोधयता ‘समानस्य स्तुत्यगुणं वधूवरम्’ इति वाक्याशेन—‘अबान्धवकृता स्नेहप्रवृत्तिञ्च ताम्’ इत्ययं मर्थोऽवगम्यते । इयता कालेन योग्यसमागमं सम्पाद्य विधाता आसृष्टेः उदुह्यमानादयशोभारात् मुक्तिं मलभत । यदि तथा ब्रह्मण एव कलङ्कं मपनोदितुं प्रभवन्नयं श्लाघ्यस्समागमकस्य वा सचेतसो नाऽनुमोदाय कल्पेत ? ‘तत् मया प्रीतिमता युवयो रनुज्ञातम्’ इत्यनेन एतत्पक्ष-पूर्ववर्तिना अस्मच्छब्दघटितसावष्टम्भवाक्येन ‘अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य’ इति वाक्याशगतो भावः अनूदितः । अतः सन्देशश्लोकस्य प्रायशोऽर्थानुवादात्मक एवाऽयं ‘त्वमर्हतां’ इत्यादिश्लोकः । अतः सन्देशश्लोकस्थितान् भावान् सङ्कुलप्य, नवीनं लघुभूतं श्लोकं निर्माय, द्रुतं मात्मनः कृत्यं समादायत् शाङ्गैरवः इत्युक्तं मस्त्यवकाशः । क्षिप्रकरणे त्वरते तस्य मनः । एतादृशीं दृष्टिं श्वेदत्र निधीयेत न महं दनोचित्य मत्र भायादिति विश्वसिमि ।

५. ‘एकमेव नौ जीवितम्, द्विधा स्थितं शरीरम्’ ।

षष्ठाङ्के मधुकरिकानाम्भ्याः प्रमदवनपालिकाया उक्तिरियम् । परभृतिकानाम्भ्याः, तत्पृष्ठतः मधुकरिका चेति उद्यानपालिके प्रविशतः । परभृतिका आम्रकलिका मालोकग्रन्ती परवशा, किमपि गायन्ती च सन्दर्भवशात् मधुकरिकायै उपस्थिता सूचयति । मधुकरिका तन्निश्चयं कामदेवार्चनं कर्तुं मीहते । कथयति च—‘परभृतिके, किञ्चित् न्मा, पादाग्रेण स्थित्वा चूताङ्कुरं मवचिनो’ मीति । ‘यदि ममाप्यर्धं मर्चनफलस्य’, तर्हि तत्करो मीति परभृतिका प्रतिवक्ति । ‘अकथितेऽप्येतस्सम्पद्यते, यत एकमेव नौ जीवितं द्विधा स्थितं शरीरम्’ इति मधुकरिकाया स्समाधानम् । किमेतत्केवलमुपचारपदम्, आहो यथार्थमेव ? सन्दर्भे विमृष्टे यथार्थमेवेति ज्ञायते । एवमभित्वा मधुकरिका चूताङ्कुरमादाय कामदेवाय समर्पयत् ।

द्रा कपटाक्षेपेण कुपितः कञ्चुकी प्रविश्य - 'मा तावत्, अनात्मज्ञे, वसन्तोत्सवे प्रतिषिद्धे किं मात्रकलिकाभङ्गं मारभसे !' इत्युच्चैः हराव । उभे - (भीते) 'प्रसीद त्वार्यः । अगृहीतार्थं आवाम्' इति प्रत्यवोचताम् । अत्रेदं तत्त्वम् । कालिदासोऽत्र तयो रेक मेव जीवितम् ; शरीरमात्र-कृत एव भेद इति सूचयतीव ।

पञ्चशर मर्चयन्ती मधुकरिकैव कञ्चुकिना ऽदृश्यत । परभूतिका तु केवलं सन्निहिता । तस्मा दपराधः मधुकरिकाया एव प्रत्यक्षदृष्टः । अतः स्ता मे बोद्दिश्य 'आम्रकलिकाभङ्गं मारभसे' इति एकवचनोपक्रमोऽपि सङ्गच्छते । अतः स्तागसा जन्येव हि भेतव्यम् । परन्तु कविः उभे अपि भीते इति वदन् समानामेव भीतिं तयोः निर्दिशति । अत्राऽयं हेतुः । यद्यप्यपराध एकमेव कृतः, तथाऽप्यन्या प्यात्मनैव कृत मपराधं मन्यते, बिभेति, कम्पते च, यतः स्तयोः शरीरकृत एव भेदो नाऽन्यथा ।

अन्यच्च । 'एक मेव नौ जीवित' इति व्याहृतवती मधुकरिकैवाऽपराद्धा । याथातथ्यन्तु परभूतिका स्वप्रवृत्त्या बोधयतीति अयं मपरो विशेषः ।

इत्थं विभाव्यमाने 'एक मेव नौ ...' इत्यादि उपचारपदं न भवति, परन्तु हार्द-मेवेति, प्रमदवनपालिकयोरपि (अप्रधानपात्रयोरपि) सौहार्दरम्या प्रवृत्तिः सुधियो धिनोति ।

६. 'अन्तर्गतप्रार्थनं मन्तिकस्थं जयन्त मुद्रीक्ष्य कृतस्मितेन ।

आमृष्टवक्षोहरिचन्दनाङ्गा मन्दारमाला हरिणा पिनद्धा ॥' (शाकु ७-२)

दिवस्पतिसभाजितो विसृष्टो दुष्यन्तः, ऐन्द्र रथ मारुह्य दिवो भुवं प्रस्थितः, साक मातलिना सम्भाषमाणः, महेन्द्रकृतं सत्कारविशेषं श्लाघमानश्च एवं प्रस्तौति ।

अस्य श्लोकस्य सङ्गृहीतार्थं इत्थम् - 'लो दुष्यन्त मर्षासने समुपावेशय-द्विसर्जनावसरकरणीयसत्काराय । अत्राऽन्तरे कृतश्चि दागम तत्र जयन्तः । माला अभिललाष । तथाऽपि शालीनतया तातः जोष मवतस्थे । इङ्गितज्ञो महेन्द्रः विदिततदभिप्रायः समादधान इव केवलं स्मित्वा, निक्षेपसमधिगतहरिचन्दनोन्दनमुरभिलां मानुषदुर्लभां मन्दारमाला मात्मनः कण्ठा दुन्मोच्य दुष्यन्तस्य ग्रीवाया मपिनह्यति स्म' इति ।

अयमेव भावपथः प्रायशो व्याख्यातृभि र्पाष्यायै श्चावलम्ब्यते । परन्त्वत्र किञ्चि-द्विचारणीयम् । ननु दुष्यन्तसभाजनाय सभा मयूयुज त्सङ्क्रन्दनः । सत्कारः प्रवर्तते महता समारोहेण । मल मारोप्य मालां कृतज्ञता ऽऽविष्करणीया । तदर्थं मुद्युङ्क्ते सहस्राक्षः । एतस्मि-न्नवसरे जयन्तः पितु रन्तिक मुपेत्य तां माला मात्मने याचते । किं मेत दुचितम् ? किं मेषा ऽत्र ? अन्यदा अन्यत्र पितु माला पुत्रस्य किं दुर्लभा ? किं मेकान्ते नाथितो नाकनाथ-न दद्यात् ? किं तदा याचितुं निस्तथा बालिशः ? दुर्जयदानवगणनिराकरिणो-महनीयस्य राज्ञ स्ममर्हणायां प्रस्तुताया, पुत्र एवाऽऽगत्य यः कश्चि त्प्राकृतो जन इव मन्दारमाला मनुनाथे स्मेति, कवि रमु मेव भाव मभिसन्धते इति हृदय मतिसन्धातुं न प्रभवामि । तत्र विश्वासो न भवति । औचित्यनिर्वाहदत्तदृष्टिः महाकवि रेवं विरसां घटनां किं विरचयेत् ? पूर्वोक्तव्याख्यानं औचित्य मतिवर्तते चे, तर्हि गतिः ?

‘माला मात्मन कण्ठे धृत्वा तत्प्रयुक्त गौरव मधिगन्तुं मनसा विचिन्तयति जयन्त’
इति भाव माविश्चकार श्री कालेपण्डित ।

‘(अन्तर्गत) प्रार्थित (पा०)–प्रार्थनम् = अङ्कुरिताभिलाष मित्यर्थः । कृतस्मितेन =
इदानीं त्वत्तोऽय मस्या अधिकारीति भावः’ इत्यभिरामव्याख्याने ।

‘अन्तर्गता = हृद्गता, प्रार्थना = मन्दारमालाविषयिणी याच्ना यस्य तम्’
इत्या ‘अर्थस्रोतनिका’ याम् ।

‘अन्तर्गता = उदात्तस्वभावतया बहि रदशिता, प्रार्थना = मालाभिलाषो यस्य तम्
कृतस्मितेन स्वार्थता मय मन्यत इति विदिताशयतया जातस्मितेन’ इति
शतावधानं श्रीनिवासाचार्यव्याख्या ।

केचन विवरणकारा अत्र तूष्णीका स्सववृत्तिरे । केचि तटस्था पदपदार्थमात्र विलिख्य
उपरि जग्मुः । उपरिष्ठा त्रिदिष्टव्याख्यापरिशीलनेन ‘जयन्त’ स्वस्माएव माला मभियाचतीत्येव
तेषा माशय इति स्पष्टीभवति ।

¹ साहितीमर्मज्ञाना कुले एव प्रवादः कश्चि दनुश्रूयते ।

‘जयन्तो माला न स्वस्मै याचते । दिवौकसः सत तस्य सा न दुरवापा । सत्क्रिया-
सभायामन्येषु दुष्यन्ते स्वा स्वा कृतज्ञता समुचिताभि इचेष्टाभिः प्रकटीकुर्वाणेषु, स्वय मपि तथा
कर्तुं मभिललाष । सत्क्रियासु मालाधारण मनिवार्य मतिप्रधान मङ्गम् । तत्रापि च सा चे न्माला
सर्वथा विलक्षणा हेम्नः परमामोदः । अतो मा णक्रियां दुष्यन्तकण्ठे स्वयं विधाय, स धन्य-
विधातु मियेष । ‘तात, मह दुपकृतवन्तं भूपति मभिनन्दितु मुद्दिष्टाया मस्या परिषदि
मह्य मवकाशो वित्तीयताम् । माला दीयताम् । स्वहस्ताभ्यां राजान मलङ्कृत्य सभाजयामि’
इत्येव श्रद्धापूर्ता वाञ्छा हृदयेन दधानो जयन्त शालीन उपकण्ठे केवल मतिष्ठत् । ‘पुसा
ज्ञातविशेषः’ सहस्राक्ष मन्द सिष्मिये । ‘अहं दिव इव, अय भुवो नाथः । तत स्तस्मै सत्क्रिया
मयैव विधेया । तव तावती आहन्ती कि मस्ति ? विशिष्टायातिथये विशिष्टेन सर्वथा विशिष्टा
समर्हणा कर्तव्या’ इति मन्देनैव स्मितेन, अमन्दा मुचिज्ञतां ससूच्य, स्वयमेव माला भूलोकपरि-
वृढस्य कण्ठ मारोपयामास’ इति । परिहृतानौचित्योऽयमेव कवे रभिसन्धि भवे इति भाति ।

७. ‘अशोकवृक्षमूले ताव दास्ता मायुष्मान्’ ।

मातलिः — (राजान मवलोक्य) अस्मि न्नशोकवृक्षमूले ताव दास्ता । यावत्
त्वा मिन्द्रगुरवे निवेदयितु मन्तरान्वेषी भवामि इति ब्रवीति । मुरलोका त्रत्यावर्तमानो दुष्यन्तो
हेमकूटपरिसर मनुप्राप्तः । अत्र च कश्यप प्रजापतिः तपस्पतिः । ‘प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेय-
पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः’ इति त भगवन्त मभिवन्द्यैव गन्तव्य मिति राजा निश्चिकायः । ‘नन्ववसरोप-
सर्पणीया’ महान्तः । प्रस्तावः प्रतिपाल्यावसर आसीत् । तदा मातलि ईड्यन्त मेवं भणति ‘त्वां
य निवेद्य, अनुगुण मवकाश ज्ञात्वा याव दह त्रत्यावर्तिष्ये ताव दत्रैव भवा नशोकवृक्षमूले
तिष्ठतु’ इति ।

1 अभिरूपशेखराणा श्रीमता राल्लपल्लि अनन्तकृष्णशर्मणा मुखात् मया श्रुतः । तैश्च
तद्गुरुमुखात् । कृतज्ञोऽस्मि ।

किं देवभूमा वपि कश्चिदशोकपादप एव शरण करणीयः । 'स्वर्गोऽपि गत्वाऽप्सरसां निकाये काणैव किं काऽपि गवेषणीया?' कुतोवा 'पारिजातस्य मन्दारस्य वाऽथ स्तिष्ठतु' इति न प्रतिबोद्धयते? तत्र देवतरुसद्भावः शङ्कनीय इति न मन्तव्यम् । देवभूमि रियं किल । कविरपि कण्ठरवेण इदं माह—'तस्मिन्नाश्रमे देवतरवोऽपि अभिवर्धन्त' इति । 'महाराज, एतौ अदिति-परिवर्धितमन्दारवृक्ष प्रजापते राश्रमं प्रविष्टौ स्वः' इति मातलिचन मन्त्रानुस्मर्यन्ते ।

इत्थं भूते च सन्दर्भे 'मन्दारमूले' इत्यनुवृत्त्या कुतो वा अशोकवृक्षमूले इत्यवोचत्? सूच्यार्थसूचनाप्रवर्णध्वजः प्रवीण कवि—'अशोकवृक्षमूले कञ्चिद्वृत्तं मुषित्वा राजाऽपि स्वयं मशोक एव भविष्यति' इति सूचयितुं मेवं पर्यंकल्पयत् । स्वयं मशोको भूत्वा पादपः नृप-मस्यशोकमकृतः; यतस्तत्र तिष्ठन्नेव राजा तनयाननन्ददर्शनसुखमनुभवन्; जायया च युयुजे ।

अशोकशब्दे 'विगतशोक' इत्यर्थवर्णनं नूतनकल्पनं न भवति; कविकुलक्षण एष-पन्थाः । अत्र विषये संवादाय श्लोकमेकमुदाहरामि; पश्यत—

‘रक्तस्त्वं नवपल्लवैः, रहमपि श्लाघ्यैः प्रियाया गुणैः,
त्वा मायान्ति शिलीमुखाः, स्मरधनुर्मुक्तास्तथा मामपि ।

कान्तापादतलाहतिस्तव मुदे, तद्वन्ममा; प्यावयोः

सर्वं तुल्यमशोक, केवलमहधात्रासशोकः कृतः' ॥ (यशोवर्मणः)

अतोऽत्र मन्दारमवधीर्य, अशोकमाद्रियत कविरिति सन्दर्भपर्यालोचने प्रसन्नस्तर्को भवति ।

८. 'न खल्वार्यपुत्र इव' इत्यादि ।

दुष्यन्तप्रत्यभिज्ञाय, वृत्तान्तं ममुनिवेदयितुं गतवतीभ्यां तापसीभ्यां प्रतिबोधितां एक-वेणीधरा मापतन्तीमेव शकुन्तलां राजा प्रत्यभिजानाति । वर्णयति च 'अये! तेयमत्रभवती शकुन्तला' । इत्यादिना ।

तं दृष्ट्वाऽपि शकुन्तला अप्रत्यभिजानती 'न खल्वार्यपुत्र इव । ततः क एष इदानी-मकृतरक्षामङ्गलं दारकमेगात्रसंसर्गेण दूषयति?' इति शङ्कते ।

अत्र विसंष्टलता स्फुटैव । शकुन्तलां दुष्यन्तः प्रत्यभिजानती क्षणेन, न तु सा तम् । कथमेतत्? तापसीभ्यामनिवेदितवृत्तान्तैव साऽत्राऽऽजगाम । नाऽन्यः पुरुषोऽपि कश्चिदत्राऽव-तिष्ठते । तस्मात्प्रत्यभिज्ञानाय महत्सौकर्यमस्ति । अकस्माद् दृष्टे तु जने प्रत्यभिज्ञानमान्यर्थं भवेत् । नाऽत्र सा रीतिः । तथाऽपि सा झटिति न प्रत्यभिजानाति । मध्ये संबृत्तः कालविप्रकर्षः कारणमिति तु वाच्योक्तिररमणीया; दुष्यन्तेऽपि तस्य तुल्यत्वात् । स तु झटिति प्रत्यभि-जानात्येव ।

अथ, यदि राजा दुःखितः, शकुन्तलाऽपि नाऽन्यथा । यद्यप्यविरहव्यथाकशिताङ्गः, साऽपि तथैव । अतः कार्श्यवैवर्ण्यादि रूभयोस्समान एव, द्वयोस्तुल्ययोगक्षेमत्वात् । अतोऽत्र यद्यपि वैवर्ण्यादिः प्रत्यभिज्ञानमान्यर्थहेतुत्वेन एकतरपक्षस्यानुकूल्यं नाचरतीव, तथाऽपि वस्तुस्थिति-रन्यादृशी ।

व्याख्यानानि पुन रित्य विवृण्वन्ति —

वस्तुतस्तु, नायिकायाः नायकस्य च दुःखे तुल्यमात्राके न भवतः इति निखिलोऽपि हृदयालु रक्लेशेन जानीयात् । शकुन्तला स्मृतिविकलेन पत्या प्रत्याख्याता । तेन पराभूता, वियोजिता च । अत्र न तस्याः कश्चिद् प्यपराधः । वियोगदुःखमेव केवल साऽनुभवति ; न दुस्सह पश्चात्तापम् । मातृकुले स्थिताया पतिदेवताया नियमव्यापृताया स्तस्याः विरहव्यथाविनोदनोपायोऽपि सन्निहितः एव । तत्राऽपि आनन्दप्रस्थिता अपत्येन सदा सन्निहितेन 'नेन अविरहिता सा मातृभावसुलभमनन्यलभ्य मानन्द मनुभवन्ती पतिविरहजा शुचं नाऽस्तीवाऽजीगणत् इति वक्तुं शक्यते । पुत्रसन्निधिरेव पुरन्ध्रीणा निखिलव्यथानिवारको जीवानु । कालिद मेवास्य भावस्य दाढ्याय स्मारयामि 'तनय मचिरा त्प्राची वार्क प्रसूय च पावन मम विरहजा वत्से न त्व शुच गणयिष्यसि' इति । एतच्च वनौकसोऽपि सतो लोकज्ञस्य कण्वस्य वदना दाविरभूत् ।

दुष्यन्तस्य तु स्थिति भृंश विषादावहा । असौ तु रहसि तानि तानि प्रतिश्रुत्य, स्वभावोत्तानहृदया शकुन्तला विदवाः, गान्धर्वेण विधिना परिणीय, पश्चात् त्वय मुपस्थितामपि प्रत्याख्याय, धर्मदारान् सन्त्यज्य, समय मुलङ्घ्य, धर्म मतिलङ्घ्य, अतिमात्र मपराध्य, तदनु कृतागस मात्मान विज्ञाय अत्यर्थं मनुतप्यते । अनुशयवेदना अनुभवंकवेद्या । सर्वा अपि ध्यथाः पश्चात्तापव्यथाया षोडशीं कलामपि नार्हन्ति । धार्मिको ननु दुष्यन्तः । धर्मपत्नीं प्रत्याचक्षाणोऽसा बुभयलोकविरुद्धं मन्वतिष्ठत् । 'सरोपिते प्यात्मनि धर्मपत्नी त्यक्ता मया नाम कुलप्रतिष्ठा कलि महते फलाय' इति रोदिति । धर्मभ्रंशभीतिः पश्चात्तापे यथा कारण न तथाऽन्यो विषयः । तत्राऽपि पितृण स्यापाकरणे यत स्तस्य महती श्रद्धा, तत एव 'अहो दुष्यन्तस्य सशय मारुढा पिण्डभाज । कुत ? —

'अस्मात्परं बत यथाश्रुति सम्भूतानि

को न कुले निवपनानि करिष्यतीति ।

नूनं प्रसूतिविकलेन मया प्रसिक्त

धौताश्रुशेष मुदक पितरः पिबन्ति' ॥

इत्यनुस्मृत्यानुस्मृत्य स मोहः । अस्मिन्नेव सन्दर्भे (एकवारमेव) 'प्रकृतिगम्भीरोऽपि पर्यश्रुनयनो' मुमूर्छ । एव मनुवेल मतवेल मनुशयानस्य दुष्यन्तस्य आधिग्राही कीदृशौ भवत इति किञ्चिदनुचिन्त्यताम् । किं मेतादृशी व्यथा नायिकायाः ? नास्ति लेशतोऽपि तस्या पश्चात्तापः ।

अतः शकुन्तला चेत्कुशा, दुष्यन्तः कुशतरः । यदि सा विवर्णा अयं विवर्णतरः । यदि सा विपरिणताकृतिः, एष तु सुतरा तथा ।

एतावन्त माशय चेतसि कुर्वाणेन कविशिखामणिना ऽयं सन्दर्भः एव घटितः । कुशा शकुन्तला प्रत्यभिज्ञाता, कुशतरस्तु राजा तथा न तथा ज्ञातः । एवविध माशय प्रकटयितुमेव ध्वनिपथपथिकः कालिदासः 'ततः प्रविशत्येकवेणीधरा शकुन्तला' इति नायिका निर्दिश्य, 'पश्चात्तापविवर्णं राजानं दृष्ट्वा' (शकुन्तला) इति नायक निर्दिशति । एव राज्ञि अनुशयार्ति-कृत वर्णान्यत्वमेवाऽऽप्रत्यभिज्ञाने हेतूकरोति ।

अथ, यदि सा त नैव प्रत्यभिजानाति ततः का वा गतिः ? न भेतव्यम् । तत्रास्ति गतिः । कालपर्यया न्मनुष्ये रूपान्यथाभावेन यदि नाम प्रत्यभिज्ञानं न सुलभं, तदा तं जनं स्वर-

योगान्तु सुखेन प्रत्यभिजानीमः । कण्ठस्वरे सुपरिचिते, अन्यथाभावस्य प्रायशोऽभावात् कण्ठरवं श्रुतवत् 'सोऽयं देवदत्तः' इति प्रत्यभिज्ञा द्राक् भोभवीति । सैव लौकिकी रीति रत्र । अमुमपि तात्त्विक मश कवि रत्र सूचयति । कथम् ? 'प्रिये कौर्यमपि मे त्वयि प्रयुक्त मनुकूलपरिणामं संवृत्तम्' इति दयितवचन माकर्ण्य शकुन्तला आत्मगत मेव मनन्यत - 'हृदय, समाश्वसिहि, समाश्वसिहि' । परित्यक्तमत्सरेण अनुकम्पिताऽस्मि दैवेन । आर्यपुत्र एव' इति । अतोऽय कण्ठ-स्वरेण तथा प्रत्यभिज्ञात इति स्फुटमेव । सध्याननिरीक्षणादेः प्रत्यभिज्ञानदाढ्यहेतुत्व तु नैव निषिद्धयते ।

९. 'वत्स, भागधेयानि ते पृच्छ' ।

दुष्यन्तं निर्दिश्य 'कोऽय' मिति पृच्छन्त बालं सर्वदमन मुद्दिश्याऽभिहितं शकुन्तलाया वाक्य मेतत् । अपराजिता(ओषधिविशेषः)मुख्ये रनेकं रक्षोभ्यं रनुमापकं रूपकरणं स्त दुर्लभितं डिम्भं 'औरस. पुत्र' इति दुष्यन्तः प्रत्यभिजानाति । एतावन्त मनेहस, धर्मभङ्गभीरुणा 'सरोपिते प्यात्मनि' 'अस्मा त्परं बत यथाश्रुति' इत्येव मन्यथा बहुधा च लालप्यमानेन साम्प्रतं राज्ञा उभयकुलनन्दनो नन्दनोऽल्मिभ । तदात्वसुलभेन पितृप्रेम्णा परवशीक्रियमाणः कुमारारङ्गपरिष्वङ्ग-जन्य मानन्द मधिगत्य मुमुदे । ननु पुत्रः 'स्पर्शवता वरः' । ततः सङ्गतौ शकुन्तला - दुष्यन्तौ परस्परं प्रत्यभिजानाते, सम्भाषेते च । सर्वं मेतत् अदृष्टचर मालोकमानः किञ्चिदिव विस्मितो वस्तुतत्त्व मजानानश्च बालो मातर मन्युङ्क्ते 'अम्ब, क एष ?' इति । तस्या. प्रतिवचन मिदं वाक्य 'वत्स, भागधेयानि ते पृच्छ' इति ।

कथ मेत त्समाधानं भवितु मर्हति? कोऽत्राऽभिसन्धिः ? पुनः प्रियसमागमः मनोरथानाम-म प्यभूमि रिति शकुन्तला मेने । सा तथा निविण्णा । यदि प्रतनुर्वा भाग्यलेशो ऽवशिष्टो ऽभविष्यत् प्रागेव सा भर्त्रा सङ्गता ऽभविष्यत् । अत स्सा स्वस्य भाग्यलवोऽपि नास्तीति निणिन्ये । स्वस्य पुराकृत सुचरितप्रतिबन्धक मासीत्, यत स्सानुक्रोशोऽपि दयित निरनुक्रोशो भूत्वा प्रत्याचख्यौ । अत्र तु तनयस्य भागधेयैरेवा ऽय मभ्युदय स्समासादितः । एत त्सूचयितुमिव पुत्रमुखेनैव दम्पत्यो स्समागम कवि स्साधयति । दुष्यन्तस्य प्रजायै गृहमेधित्व मेव निर्व्यूढम् ।

एवंरूप मागामिन मुदन्त चतुर्थाङ्के, कण्वमुखेन 'अभिजनवत' इत्यारब्धे श्लोके एकया¹ उपमया कालिदासः सूचयामास । 'तनय मचिरा त्प्राचीवाऽर्कं प्रसूयच पावन' इ त्यत्रत्योप-माव्यङ्ग्यार्थमधुरा परिशीलनार्हा ।

'कठोरगर्भेय मचिरा त्सोष्यते । समुत्पत्त्यमान स्तु पुत्र स्सवितृप्रतिमः । इयञ्च प्राचीसदृशी । एव मुक्त्या यथा सूर्योदया त्प्राक् प्राची अन्धतमसावृता न प्रकाशते, तथेय मपि कुमारोदया त्प्राक् शापव्यवहितस्मृतिना दुष्यन्तेन प्रत्याख्याता शोकान्धकारभराक्रान्ता न प्रकाशते । पुत्रोदया दनन्तर न्तु मारीचाश्रमे पत्या सङ्गता स्वां शोभां पुनः प्राप्स्यति' इ त्यनयो-पमयाऽपि पुत्रभागधेयाधीन एव दम्पत्योः पुनस्समागम इति कविः पिशुनयति । भागधेयानीति बहुवचन मपि युक्तरूपमेव । बहूनां भागधेयाना मेव प्रभावः प्रबल प्रतिबन्धक मपोह्य एतावन्त-मभ्युदय साधयितुं प्रभवेत् । अतोऽस्य वाक्य स्याऽय मर्थः । 'यै भागधेयै स्त्वदीये रहं पत्या

1. Ref to 'डपमा कालिदासस्य' — by the same author, in Journal of S V O R I Vol XVI, Nos 1 & 2, p 14

योजिता तान्येव खलु भागधेयानि समाधातुं प्रभवन्ति, अतस्तान्येव पृच्छ' । मातृहृदय मेव-
भागधेयशता न्यनुध्यायतीति जननीवात्सल्यस्वरूप मित्येव माविष्कृतम् ।

१०. 'वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं . . . ' ।

न परं शाकुन्तले, अपि तु ग्रन्थान्तरेऽपि इत्थं दृष्टिं विधेया । उपलभ्यन्ते च यत्र तत्रैवजातीया न्यूदाहरणानि । कुमारसम्भवा देक प्रदर्श्य विरमामि ।

'वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दुनोति निर्गन्धतया स्म चेत् ।

प्रायेण सामग्र्यविधौ गुणानां पराङ्मुखी विश्वसृजः प्रवृत्तिः ॥

कुमारसम्भवे आकालिक वसन्तावतारं मुपवर्णयन् कालिदासः श्लोकं समुल्लिखति । तत्र कर्णिकारस्य प्रकृष्टवर्णत्वं तावत्प्रस्तुतम् । नीलवर्णं रक्तवर्णं धवलवर्णं अन्यवर्णं तदिति वा कण्ठतो न किञ्चिदत्र वक्ति । रक्तवर्णं मिति किं कोकनदं महद्यम् ? नीलवर्णं मिति किं कुवलय-मरुचिरम् ? धवलं मिति किं पुण्डरीकं ममनोज्ञम् ? सौवर्णवर्णं मिति किं चम्पकं मपेशलम् ? यः कोऽपि वा भवन्वर्णो निसर्गरम्यो हृदयमधिरोहत्येव । अतः कर्णिकारस्य यः कोऽपि वर्णोऽस्तु, स तावच्चक्षुषी आकृष्टमलम् । तथा वर्णमनोहरं मपि तत् सौरभर्वजितं मिति क्लिश्यमानं महाकविरेव मवादीतम् । इदं वर्णं मयि कुसुमं मिति निर्धारयितुं मशक्यं मिव भाति ।

कविरेव सन्दिहानानां समाधानायेव श्लोकं मन्यतस्मिन्नेव सर्गे न्यवेशयत् ।

'अशोकनिर्भस्मितपद्मरागं माकृष्टहेमद्युतिं कर्णिकारम् ।

मुक्ताकलापीकृतसिन्दुवारं वसन्तपुष्पाभरणं वहन्ती ॥' इति ।

रक्ताशोकपुष्पाणि पद्मरागस्थाने धृतानि । निर्गुण्डीकुसुमानि (श्वेता न्यत्र ग्रहीतव्यानि) तिनिधीकृतानि । कर्णिकाराणि तु सुवर्णाभरणस्थाने कल्पिता नीतिमुचितं मिति मन्ये । तथा चेदनुमन्येत, तर्हि कर्णिकारहेमप्रभं मित्यत्र कस्तन्वेह ? 'कर्णिकारं माकृष्टहेमद्युतिं' इति कविस्वयमेवाह । वसन्तर्तौ तत्कालमुलभानां पुष्पाणां रणस्थाने धारणं मौचित्यप्राप्तं साम्प्रदायिकं मित्यपि ज्ञायते । यथा -

'पुष्पागजालकैर्हारान् काञ्चीः केसरदामभिः ।

कर्णिकाः कर्णिकारैश्च विहर्तुं विदधुर्वने ॥' इति ॥

अयं श्लोकः चित्रमीमासायां (वैयधिकरण्येन) परिणामालङ्कारस्य उदाहरणीकृतः । पुष्पागजालकानि (मुकुला नीतीर्थं) हारीकृतानि । केसरमाला काञ्च्यः कृताः । कर्णिकाराणि तु कर्णाभरणीकृतानि ।

ननु पुष्पागजालकेषु हारत्वारोपः, केसरदामिन् काञ्चीत्वारोपः, कर्णिकारे कर्णाभरण-त्वारोपश्च कृतं इति अत्र रूपकमेवाऽलङ्कारः । कुतोऽत्र परिणामालङ्काराङ्गीकरणावश्यकता ? प्रकृतानां पुष्पागदीनां हाराद्यप्रकृतात्मनैव प्रकृतालङ्काररूपकार्योपयोगोऽस्तीति (न तु प्रकृत-पुष्पागद्यात्मना) रूपकमेवाऽङ्गीकरणीयम् ।

मेवम् । 'वने विहर्तुं' मिति अत्र पदद्वयमवधानार्हम् । वने विहर्तुं मत्र प्रसाधनविधिरपेक्षितः, न तु प्रासादे अन्तःपुरे । वनविहरणानुकूलत्वञ्च तत्तदाभरणस्थानीयानां तत्तत्कुसु-

माना मेव । अतोऽत्रैव समन्वयः । आरोप्यमाणानां हारादीनां स्वात्मना न प्रकृतवनविहरण-
कार्योपयोगित्वे, अपि तु पुष्पागजालकादिप्रकृतात्मतयै वेति. औचित्यानुरोधेन सन्दर्भं परिशील्य
परिणाम एवाऽत्र स्वीकर्तव्यः । आरोप्यमाणस्य स्वात्मना कार्योपयोगित्वे रूपकम्, प्रकृतात्मना
कार्योपयोगित्वे परिणाम - इति सिद्धान्तात् । अतोऽत्रापि 'वसन्तपुष्पाभरणं वहन्ती'ति वर्ण-
नौचित्येनाऽयं ग्रहणे सुवर्णाभरणस्थाने कर्णिकार मधारीति, तच्च सौवर्णवर्णमिति च स्फुटी-
भवति ।

एवं विमृष्टे तत्र तत्र उत्पद्यमानाः सन्देहाः प्रायशः परिहृता भवेयुः । अयं मेव पन्थाः
ग्रन्थान्तरे ध्वन्यदीये ध्वपि अनुसर्तव्यः । कश्चिदध्वा प्रदर्शनीय इति चापलेन प्रचोदितः किञ्चि-
व्यलिखम् । तत्सन्तो द्रष्टु 'महन्ति सदसव्यव्यक्तिहेतवः' । सन्दर्भे सुज्ञाते संशया श्शुद्धयेयु रिति
अस्य लेखस्य 'सन्दर्भशुद्धिः' इति शीर्षक मधायि ।

कृतिनः कविराजशिखामणे. कालिदासस्य मुखा निसरन्ती निखिलाऽपि वाणी निसर्ग-
रमणीया, सरसमधुरा, उदारललितार्था च भवति । शङ्काकलङ्का स्तु 'अवरदौर्बल्यात्' साधा-
रणेषु प्रतिभासेरन्, अन्तर्मुखं स्त्वन्तर्वाणिकुलं स्तदुद्धरणं करणीयम् ।

'कविता मफल द्विटी कालिदासमुखेऽर्पिता ।

पत्युर्मुखेतु सा देव्याः (वाण्याः) परुषं निगमाक्षरम् ॥' - नीलकण्ठः ।

मुघियो वत्सला स्सन्तः, वचो मे फल्गु वल्गु वा ।

श्रोष्यन्ति ; य द्वत्सलत्वं लक्षय त्यगुणे गुणम् ॥



साहित्य और मुद्रणकला

डा० यस० टी० नरसिंहाचारी.

१. मानव जीवन पर मुद्रण कला का व्यापक प्रभाव :—

मुद्रण कला का आविष्कार मानवीय सभ्यता के इतिहास में एक महत्वपूर्ण चरण है। ज्ञान - विज्ञान की रक्षा और उसके विकास में इसके योग ने मानवीय और संस्कृति के इतिहास को ही बदल डाला है। विज्ञान की इस उन्नति के सम्बन्ध में लोगों की प्रायः यही धारणा है कि उसने मानवीय प्रगति के साधन के रूप में ज्ञान के प्रसार को सुगम और विस्तृत कर दिया है। लेकिन मानव जीवन पर उसका प्रभाव इससे कहीं अधिक और गहरा पड़ा है। उसका राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आध्यात्मिक और साहित्यिक ऐसा कोई पहलू नहीं है जिसका मुद्रण कला के विकास के साथ प्रत्यक्ष न हो और जिसपर उसका प्रभाव न पड़ा हो। मुद्रण कला के इस प्रभाव का किये बिना इन पहलुओं के सम्बन्ध में मनुष्य के क्रिया कलापो का और उसके विविध आन्दोलनों का इतिहास समग्र रूप में समझा नहीं जा सकता। ¹ उसने मनुष्य के लिए विचार - विमर्श का क्षेत्र खोल दिया है, ज्ञान - विज्ञान की उन्नति का पथ प्रशस्त कर दिया है, सत्य के अन्वेषण और प्रसार में योग दिया है और अन्त में उसके सम्बन्धों को व्यापक बना दिया है। उसके बिना मनुष्य के भाव - विचारों का यह आधुनिक प्रसार कभी सम्भव ही नहीं होता। आधुनिक काल को उसके पहले के सारे युगों से अलग कर देने वाली सभी विशेषताओं के मूल में उसका प्रबल हाथ अवश्य देखा जा सकता है।

मुद्रण कला ने विचार - विमर्श को जो बल दिया है वह मानव के इतिहास में चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा। उसके पहले मनुष्य की मौखिक वाणी लोगों के भावों को अधिक प्रभावित अवश्य करती थी, लेकिन उसकी पहुँच सीमित लोगों तक ही होती थी और वह भी में विलीन हो जाती थी। मुद्रित अक्षरों का सन्देश मनुष्य के भावों को उतना अधिक प्रभावित नहीं कर सकता तो उसकी नयी - तुली अभिव्यक्ति मानव - मस्तिष्क के लिए विशेष विचारोत्तेजक, उसकी पहुँच सार्वभौमिक और उसकी गूँज सार्वकालीन अवश्य होती है। उसने विचार - विमर्श के लिए मनुष्य को तीन महत्वपूर्ण सुविधाएँ दी हैं। ² लेखक की विचारधारा में अगर कोई बात आगयी है तो विचार - विकास के परवर्ती सूत्रों से विच्छिन्न हुए बिना ही हम पीछे के पन्ने पलट कर देख सकते हैं कि लेखक की आरंभिक मान्यताओं में कहीं कोई भूल तो नहीं हो गयी है। आगे के पन्ने पलट कर हम यह भी देख सकते हैं कि लेखक हमें कहाँ ले जा रहा है? कहीं हमें अनुचित रूप से प्रभावित करने का प्रयत्न तो नहीं कर रहा है? लेखक के अपनी बात को पूरा कहने से पहले ही उसे जान लेने की इस सुविधा से हम हो सकते हैं। तीसरी सुविधा आवश्यकता के अनुसार बीच में रुककर चिन्तन - मनन करने, तथ्यों की परीक्षा करने या शब्दकोश से अर्थ स्पष्ट कर लेने की है। मुद्रण कला ने

1 S H Stainburg — Five hundred years of Printing, Penguin books, 1955, P 17.

2 Ibid Foreward by Beatrice Warde, P 9.

हमें यह कहने का दिया है कि 'जरा रुक जाओ, मैं इस विषय पर सोच लेना चाहता हूँ', 'क्या तुमने पहले वही बात कही है?', और 'आखिर तुम क्या कहना चाहते हो?'

मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण मनुष्य शताब्दियों से गिन शिक्षा और सस्कृति के व्यापक प्रसार का जो स्वप्न देखता आ रहा था, वह यथार्थ होने के दिन समीप आ गये हैं। शिक्षा प्राप्त करने में अनेक प्रकार की कठिनाइयों और असुविधाओं के कारण प्राचीनकाल से ही प्रत्येक समाज शिक्षित - अशिक्षित वर्गों में बँटकर अपनी अपनी वर्गीय एवं विशिष्ट सस्कृतियों का विकास करता आया है। मुद्रण कला इन कृत्रिम वर्ग भेदों को काटते हुए एक नवीन और व्यापक सामाजिक भावना को जन्म दे रही है। इस तरह वह मनुष्य के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक विकास का साधन मात्र न होकर उसकी प्रगति के आन्तरिक प्रेरणा - सूत्रों को बल देते हुए उसे एक विशिष्ट रूप में ढाल भी रही है।

मनुष्य के जीवन में जो सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन हो जाते हैं उनका साहित्य पर प्रभाव अवश्य पड़ता है। इस तरह मुद्रणकला अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से साहित्य को प्रभावित कर ही रही है, प्रत्यक्ष रूप से भी उसका प्रभाव किसी भी दृष्टि से उपेक्षणीय नहीं है। यहाँ भी उसका प्रभाव साहित्य की बाह्य परिस्थितियों पर ही नहीं है, उसकी आन्तरिक प्रकृति और स्वरूप पर भी है। उसने साहित्य की उत्पत्ति के साधनों और उसके प्रसार के क्षेत्र में ही क्रान्ति उत्पन्न नहीं की है, बल्कि साहित्यसम्बन्धी हमारी धारणा या भावना में भी काफी परिवर्तन कर दिया है। वास्तव में उत्पत्ति के साधनों का उत्पाद वस्तु पर प्रभाव पड़ना अनिवार्य है। इस कारण उत्पादन और वितरण सम्बन्धी बाह्य परिस्थितियों पर मुद्रण कला के प्रभाव ने नई परिस्थितियों के अनुसार अपनी प्रकृति बदल लेने के लिए साहित्य को विवश किया है। दूसरी ओर उसका साहित्य के विविध पहलुओं पर न्यूनाधिक प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव भी पड़ा है। परिस्थिति और प्रवृत्ति सम्बन्धी इन परिवर्तनों से प्राचीन साहित्य के और रसास्वादन के सम्बन्ध में नई समस्याएँ भी उत्पन्न हो गयी हैं।

२. साहित्य के प्रचार एवं प्रसार में योगदान: —

मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण साहित्य का व्यापक समाज में जो प्रचार हुआ है और होता जा रहा है, वह आधुनिक काल की साहित्य सम्बन्धी एक प्रधान उल्लेखनीय विशेषता है। प्राचीन काल में साहित्य का इतना व्यापक प्रचार नहीं था। उस समय वह श्रव्य-रूप में ही ग्राहकों तक पहुँच सकता था। इसलिए प्रचार की अधिक संभावना नहीं थी। उस रूप में भी प्रचार के लिए वह श्राव्य कण्ठस्वर पर निर्भर था। राजशेखरने काव्य - रचना से काव्य-पाठ को जो महत्व दिया है वह इसी दृष्टि से है।^१ मुद्रण की सुविधा के अभाव में उस समय साहित्य को समाज तक पहुँचानेवाले कुशीलवों का साहित्य - संसार में विशेष मान था।^२ प्राचीन कालमें साहित्य के प्रचार का दूसरा साधन हस्तलिखित प्रतिरूप थे। उनके विशेष और व्ययसाध्य होने के कारण धनी वर्गों और अत्यधिक साहित्य प्रेमी समुदायों में ही उनके द्वारा साहित्य का प्रचार सम्भव था।

१. काव्यमीमांसा - स० केदारनाथशर्मा सारस्वत, १९५४, पृ० ८० - ८१

२. वाल्मीकि रामायण को सस्वर समाज तक पहुँचानेवाले कुश और लव ही थे।

कठिनाइयाँ दूर होकर साहित्य का व्यापक से व्यापक प्रचार हुआ है । मुद्रण कला की साज - सज्जा और प्रकाशन - व्यापार के प्रचार ने असंख्य लोगों को साहित्य की ओर उन्मुख किया है । 'मानस' जैसी लोकप्रिय रचना की हस्तलिखित पोथियों की संख्या के साथ मुद्रित प्रतियों की संख्या की तुलना, साहित्य के प्रचार में मुद्रण कला के योग को स्पष्ट कर देती है । उसके कारण एक ओर प्राचीन साहित्य के प्रामाणिक संस्करण निकलकर वह सर्वजनसुलभ हो गया है तो दूसरी ओर सस्ते संस्करणों की लोकप्रिय ग्रंथमालाओं के रूप में नवीन साहित्य का भी व्यापक प्रचार हो रहा है । वह भाषा को भी एक व्यवस्थित और स्थिर रूप देते हुए साहित्य को सामान्य पाठकों की पहुँच में ले आयी है । किसी भी युग की व्रजभाषा में वह एकरूपता नहीं है जो आज के साहित्य की भाषा में है । इसका यही कारण है कि मुद्रण की सुविधा में भाषा का एक निश्चित और प्रामाणिक रूप सभी लोगों तक पहुँच पाता है ।

साहित्य के प्रचार पर ही नहीं उसके प्रसार और विकास पर भी मुद्रण कला का पर्याप्त प्रभाव पड़ा है । आधुनिक काल में साहित्य की प्रवृत्तियों एवं रूपों की - सी विविधता और पुस्तकों की संख्या - वृद्धि प्राचीनकाल के किसी भी युग में नहीं मिलती । इसके और भी अनेक कारण हो सकते हैं पर उनमें मुद्रण से आत्माभिव्यक्ति, विचार - विनिमय और प्रकाशन की जो सुविधायें मिली हैं और पाठक - समाज का जो विस्तार हुआ है, उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती । मुद्रण कला ने लेखक के लिये आत्माभिव्यक्ति के द्वार पूरे खोल दिये हैं । उससे प्राप्त इन सुविधाओं के अभाव में साहित्य का यह व्यापक प्रसार कभी संभव ही नहीं होता । आधुनिककाल के गद्य - रूपों के विकास के मूल में भी उसका अप्रत्यक्ष योग देखा जा सकता है । उसके कारण पाठक - समाज का जो विस्तार हुआ है उनमें अधिकांश अर्द्ध - शिक्षित थे जो कविता की कलात्मक प्रौढ़ता के में असमर्थ थे । इसीलिए उनकी कलात्मक आकांक्षाओं की तृप्ति के लिए कविता की अपेक्षा सरल और बोधगम्य गद्य - रूपों का विकास हो चला है । द्विवेदी युग के अंत तक जो गद्य - साहित्य प्रस्तुत किया गया है, वह इस बात का प्रमाण है । उसके बाद व्यापक पाठक - समाज की कलात्मक चेतना के विकास के साथ साथ गद्य के रूपों में प्रौढ़ता अवश्य आयी है, फिर भी वे कविता से भिन्न व्यापक पाठक - समाज को दृष्टि में रखकर ही विकसित हो रहे हैं । कलात्मक साहित्य का विकास करने के अतिरिक्त मुद्रण कला ने सामयिक, उपयोगी और मनोरंजक साहित्य का नया विकास भी किया है । शिक्षा - प्रसार के कारण उत्पन्न विस्तृत पाठक - समाज के लिए सरल और बोधगम्य रूपों में इस प्रकार की रचनाएँ हो रही हैं । मुद्रण की सुविधा और विस्तृत पाठकसमाज के न होने के कारण प्राचीनकाल में उच्च साहित्य के अतिरिक्त इस प्रकार के लोकप्रिय साहित्य की रचना नहीं हुई । १

३. साहित्य के नये प्रचार एवं प्रसार और प्रकाशन - व्यापार से उत्पन्न समस्याएँ : —

साहित्य के इस व्यापक प्रचार एवं प्रसार के कारण आधुनिक काल में साहित्य - सम्बन्धी अनेक नयी समस्याएँ उत्पन्न हो गयीं हैं । मुद्रण कला के द्वारा पाठक - समाज के विस्तार के कारण अभिरुचि और प्रेषणीयता सम्बन्धी दो महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न साहित्य - संसार के सामने उपस्थित हुए हैं । प्राचीनकाल में उच्च और निम्न वर्गों के संस्कारों के अंतर ने

१ डा० श्रीकृष्णलाल - आधुनिक हिन्दी साहित्य का विकास, १९५२, पृ० ३८३

साहित्य के व्यापक प्रचार में बाधा उपस्थित की थी । साहित्य उच्चवर्गीय अभिरुचि के अनु-सार बनता था । इससे विवश होकर जनता ने अपने लोक-साहित्य का निर्माण कर लिया था । आज रूपान्तर में वही वर्ग-भेद उपस्थित हो गया है । साधारण और उच्च शिक्षितों की अभिरुचि के अन्तर ने नवीन साहित्य को सामान्य और उच्च — दो धाराओं में बाँट दिया है ।

शिक्षित उच्च साहित्य का, उसकी सूक्ष्म और गहरी अभिव्यक्ति का ग्राहक बनने में अपने को असमर्थ पा रहे हैं । शिक्षा-प्रसार में साहित्य को व्यापक पाठक-समाज तो मिल गया है, लेकिन उनमें अधिकांश की कलात्मक अभिरुचि सन्तोषजनक नहीं है । वे अपनी अभिरुचि के सामान्य साहित्य की माँग कर रहे हैं । उनके लिए उच्च साहित्य की अभिव्यक्ति को सरल बनाने का आग्रह करना, समस्या का समाधान नहीं है । मन की सूक्ष्म अनुभूतियों की अभिव्यक्ति अनिवार्यतः जटिल हुआ करती है । ऐसी स्थिति में साधारण शिक्षितों की ग्रहण शक्ति को बढ़ा कर ही उच्च साहित्य को उन्तक पहुँचाया जा सकता है । इस सम्बन्ध में दूसरा प्रश्न अभिरुचि के स्कार और उत्कर्ष का है । जीवन के हर एक क्षेत्र में प्रचार के साथ उन्नति का यह प्रश्न लगा ही रहता है । व्यक्तित्व-विकास के अभाव में शिक्षितों की अभिरुचि प्रौढ़ नहीं होती । उच्च साहित्य के साथ धनिष्ठ परिचय के द्वारा ही उनकी अभिरुचि को प्रौढ़ एवं परिष्कृत किया जा सकता है ।

पाठक-वर्ग के विस्तार में विभिन्न अभिरुचियों के लोग साहित्य की ओर आकृष्ट हुए हैं । ऐसी स्थिति में एक ही रचना से सब पाठकों को सन्तुष्ट करता सरल काम नहीं है । मिश्रित (Heterogeneous) ग्राहक वर्ग साहित्य की रूप-कल्पना में कठिनाई उपस्थित करती है । उसे हल करने की प्रतिभा के अभाव में लेखक वर्ग विशेष को अपील करके संतुष्ट रहने के लिए बाध्य हो जाता है । आज का लेखक विस्तृत पाठक-समाज को पाकर भी उसका लाभ उठा नहीं पा रहा है । प्राचीन साहित्य के ग्राहक वर्ग विशेष के होने के कारण ऐसी कठिनाई नहीं होती थी । आश्रयदाता की रुचि के अनुकूल रचना करनेवाला कवि उस वर्ग के लोगों को अपील कर सकने पर अपने को सफल मानता था । राजाश्रय से स्वतंत्र रचना भी सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक समानता और एक ही प्रकार की शिक्षा-दीक्षा में संस्कृत सहृदयों के सीमित वर्ग को समान रूप से अपील कर पाती थी । सहृदय वर्ग सामाजिक वर्गीयता से परे होते हुए भी समान संस्कारों की प्राप्ति में इकाई (Homogeneous) वर्ग ही था । आज की शिक्षा-दीक्षा की विविधता, गहनता और जटिलता ने इस प्रकार की ए । को असंभव बना दिया है और नयी शिक्षा से विकसित वर्गीय चेतना ने अभिरुचियों की विभिन्नता की इस समस्या को और भी जटिल बना दिया है । इस विषमता के कारण नये लेखकों को जो कठिनाई हो रही है उसे नये युग के स्वयं सहस्र कर रहे हैं और उसे हल करने में लगे हुए हैं ।¹

मुद्रण कला से उत्पन्न साहित्यिक प्रसार एवं विकास सम्बन्धी समस्याओं में पहला क स्तर की है । उसने प्रसार की अपार सुविधाएँ देकर साहित्य में फालतू चीजों की भरमार-सी कर दी है । उनमें अच्छी रचनाओं को चुन लेना स्वयं एक समस्या है । साहित्य के इस प्रसार में विशृंखलता भी कम नहीं दिखाई दे रही है । नयी प्रवृत्तियों और

1 अज्ञेय — त्रिशकु, १९४५, पृ० ११४

शैलियों का विकास ही साहित्य की प्रगति का द्योतक नहीं है। उच्च साहित्य के स्तर को इस समस्या को मुद्रण कला के साथ विकसित सामयिक और उपयोगी साहित्य ने और भी जटिल बना दिया है। इनका प्रधान क्षेत्र पत्र-पत्रिकाएँ हैं। आधुनिक काल के आरंभ में उच्च साहित्य के प्रचार, प्रसार एवं विकास का अधिकांश श्रेय इन्हीं को है, इसे अस्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन धीरे धीरे सामयिक साहित्य का प्रसार एवं विकास ही उनका लक्ष्य हो गया है। आज एक विस्तृत पाठक-समाज उनके द्वारा प्राप्त सामयिक मनोरंजन से ही संतुष्ट हो रहा है और इसलिये प्रौढ़ साहित्य को अच्छी कलात्मक अभिरुचि रखनेवाले सीमित पाठक ही मिल रहे हैं। आधुनिक काल में विकसित लोकप्रिय मनोरंजक साहित्य से भी कलात्मक साहित्य की स्थिति संकट में पड़ गयी है। आज के समाज में मनोरंजन की प्रवृत्ति इतनी बढ़ गयी है कि उसे संतुष्ट करने के लिए एक विशेष प्रकार के साहित्य की सृष्टि हो रही है। पुस्तक-प्रकाशन का व्यापार उसे आहार देकर पाठकों की रुचि को और भी गिरा रहा है। इसका प्रभाव उच्च साहित्य के लोकप्रिय रूप, कथा-साहित्य पर भी पड़ा है और उस के अस्वस्थ नैतिक प्रभाव पर अनेक आक्षेप हो रहे हैं। मुद्रण कला का विकास हो जाने के बाद साहित्यिक अभिरुचि का नियंत्रण, सहृदयों और उच्चशिक्षा प्राप्त विद्वानों के हाथ से निकलकर प्रकाशकों के अधीन हो गया है। उन्होंने आर्थिक दृष्टि से सामान्य पाठकों की अभिरुचि को संतुष्ट करना अपना लक्ष्य बना लिया है। प्राचीनकाल में राजाश्रय ने साहित्यिक प्रवृत्ति की स्वाभाविकता को नष्ट कर दिया था। आज प्रकाशकों की व्यापार-दृष्टि उससे कम हानि नहीं कर रही है। आज मुद्रण कला के सहयोग में साहित्य के व्यापक समाज की वस्तु हो जाने के बाद उसका उचित सांस्कृतिक उपयोग कर लेना कर्ता, ग्राहक और प्रकाशक तीनों का सम्मिलित कर्तव्य है। आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण को कम से कम साहित्य और कलाओं के क्षेत्र से दूर करके ही उनका उद्धार और ग्राहक-अभिरुचि का परिष्कार एवं उत्कर्ष संभव होगा।

मुद्रण कला और प्रकाशन-व्यापार के साथ विकसित प्रचार-कला ने नये साहित्य की समस्याओं को और भी जटिल बना दिया है। इस नयी कला के विकास से को व्यापक पाठक-समाज की साहित्यिक अभिरुचि को प्रभावित करने, उसे अभीष्ट रूप में ढालने और बलात् उस में परिवर्तन लाने के अपूर्व साधन प्राप्त हुए हैं। आधुनिक युग प्रचार का युग कहलाता है। मुद्रणकला के कारण आज प्रचार के ऐसे अनेक नये नये रूपों का विकास हो चला है कि साहित्य-संसार पर उनका बड़ा ही व्यापक प्रभाव दिखाई देता है। मुद्रित रूप में साहित्य को पाठक-समाज तक पहुँचाते समय प्रचार के द्वारा उनकी अभिरुचि को प्रभावित करने के जो प्रयत्न होते हैं, वे अप्रत्यक्ष और सांकेतिक रूप में हो जाने के कारण पाठक शायद ही उन्हें समझ पाता है। पुस्तकों की विवरणात्मक सूचियाँ, आगामी प्रकाशनों का विज्ञापन, रचना की सार्थकता और कलात्मकता का आकर्षक वर्णन, युग की प्रवृत्ति में उसकी विशेषता की चर्चा, रचना के विषय का सारांश, विस्तृत विषय-सूची, सुदीर्घ अनुक्रमणिका, कवर पृष्ठों पर कलाकार की प्रतिभा एवं विद्वत्ता की प्रशंसा, रचना का परिचय और प्रसिद्ध समीक्षकों की सम्मतियों, मुखपृष्ठ पर विषय और उसके महत्त्व की सूचना आदि सारी बातें मुद्रण कला से विकसित प्रचार के ही विभिन्न रूप हैं जो रचना में अभिरुचि उत्पन्न करने के लिए अनुकूल वातावरण उपस्थित करते हैं। आदर्शवादी, कल्पनावादी, यथार्थवादी सभी प्रवृत्तियों ने प्रचार के इन साधनों को अपने अपने ढंग पर विकास कर लिया है। कलाकार

प्रकाशन के इन विषयों में अपनी प्रवृत्ति एवं अभिरुचि का परिचय देकर पाठकों को अपनी ओर खींचने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। प्रचार के बल पर ही नये प्रवृत्तियाँ और फैशन अनुमोदन प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। सस्ते और आकर्षक प्रकाशनों ने लोकप्रिय सीरीज के रूप में सामान्य ग्राहक-अभिरुचि पर अपना पूरा अधिकार कर लिया है।

व्यापक पाठक-समाज तक पहुँचने के लिए कलाकार अपने प्रकाशक को विशेष सावधानी के साथ चुनता है, क्योंकि इसी पर उस की रचना की सफलता बहुत कुछ निर्भर रहती है। रचना अपनी कला की सामिकता के बल पर ही नहीं, प्रचार के बल पर भी लोकप्रिय बन जाती है। प्रकाशक की साधन-सम्पत्ति इस बात को निर्धारित करती है कि रचना का कितना व्यापक प्रचार होगा। इसीलिए नया कलाकार अपनी सफलता के लिए अच्छे प्रकाशक से अपनी रचना का प्रकाशन कर लेना चाहता है। लेकिन कभी कभी इसके लिए उसे बहुत दौड़-धूप करनी पड़ती है। क्यों कि आर्थिक हानि के भय से प्रकाशक प्रतिष्ठित कलाकारों की सफल रचनाओं को छोड़ कर नये प्रयोगों को पसन्द नहीं करता। प्रत्येक देश के साहित्यिक इतिहास में युग प्रवर्तक नये कलाकारों की श्रेष्ठ रचनाएँ प्रकाशकों से वापस आ जाने की अनेक घटनाएँ मिल जाती हैं। प्रकाशन की इस कठिनाई के कारण आजकल नई रचना, प्रतिष्ठित कलाकार की सिफारिश के साथ प्रकाशनार्थ जाती है और तभी स्वीकृत होती है। साहित्य को प्रकाशन-व्यापार के इस पजे से बचाने के लिए आजकल सरकार प्रतिभा को पुरस्कार देने की घोषणाएँ कर रही है। लेकिन वे प्रायः प्रसिद्ध कलाकारों को ही मिलते हैं। जब तक व्यापारी दृष्टि से साहित्य का प्रकाशन होता रहेगा तब तक प्रतिभा की अपेक्षा प्रचार ही साहित्य को सामाजिक मान्यता दिलानेवाला रहेगा।

मुद्रण कला के आरम्भ में प्रचार प्रत्यक्ष विज्ञापन-सा लगता था, किन्तु आज उसने अपनी कला का विकास कर लिया है और अप्रत्यक्ष एवं साकेतिक रूपों में वह एक तरह से पाठक-समाज की अभिरुचि का निर्धारक हो गया है। साहित्य का यह विज्ञापन बिल्कुल आधुनिक आविष्कार नहीं है। प्रचीन लेखक भी कवि-सम्मेलनों, गोष्ठियों और राजसभाओं में विद्वानों और रसिकों की प्रशंसाएँ पाकर अपनी रचना का पथ प्रशस्त कर लेने में तत्पर रहता था। लेकिन प्रचीनकाल में लेखक को अपने प्रचार की की-सी भूख नहीं थी। क्योंकि विद्वानों और रसिकों की परीक्षा में सफल हो जाने पर उसे आश्रय-दाता से आर्थिक लाभ हो जाता था और केवल आत्मतोष के लिए वह व्यापक समाज के द्वारा अपनी रचना का अनुमोदन चाहता था। पर आज साहित्य का व्यवसाय सामान्य ग्राहक-समाज की अभिरुचि पर निर्भर है जिसे प्रभावित करने के लिए ही का इतना विकास हुआ है। आधुनिक काल में शिक्षा-प्रसार और प्रचार की सुविधाओं के कारण नये साहित्यकार के हौसले भी बहुत बढ गये हैं। अब वह प्राचीनकाल की तरह सीमित सहृदयों को अपील कर सकने में सुतुष्ट नहीं हो जाता, बल्कि अपनी रचना की सार्वजनीन अनुभूति का स्वप्न भी देखता है और इस प्रकार की व्यापक लोकप्रियता में गर्व का अनुभव भी करता है।

आधुनिक काल में साहित्य का यह प्रचार पुस्तक-परिचय या समीक्षा के नाम पर इतना अप्रत्यक्ष हो रहा है कि सामान्य पाठक इसे कला का तटस्थ मूल्यांकन रचना की ओर आकृष्ट हो रहे हैं। यह पुस्तक-परिचय प्रायः सहानुभूति पूर्ण, रचना के अनुकूल होता है। लेखक और प्रकाशक के साथ समीक्षक की मैत्री या उनके सहयोग का यह परि-

णाम होता है । सीमित शिक्षित सहृदयो को छोड़कर सामान्य ग्राहक - समाज की अभिरुचि निश्चित न होने के कारण उसे प्रचार के द्वारा अभीष्ट रूप में ढालना कठिन नहीं है । मनुष्य का व्यक्तित्व और विवेक जितना अविकसित रहता है, वह उतना ही अधिक प्रचार के सकेतों से प्रभावित हो जाता है । इसी दुर्बलता के कारण साम्यवादी देश, प्रचार के द्वारा व्यापक समाज की कलात्मक अभिरुचि को अपने ओदशों और सिद्धान्तों के अनुरूप नियंत्रित करने में सफल हो रहे हैं । सामाजिक मनोवृत्ति अच्छे को पहचानने की कोशिश कम करती है, प्रचार के द्वारा जो रचना सफलता प्राप्त करती है उसीको उत्कृष्ट समझती है । इस तरह प्रचार के द्वारा अभिरुचि को नियंत्रित करने से उसका स्वच्छन्द विकास नहीं हो पाता । प्रचार की सार्थकता केवल इसी बात में है कि वह रचना को व्यापक ग्राहक - समाज तक पहुँचाता है, उसे उसके लिए बोधगम्य बनाता है और नयी साहित्यिक प्रवृत्तियों में अभिरुचि उत्पन्न करने में सहायक सिद्ध होता है । यदि उसे व्यापारी स्वार्थ - सिद्धि कर लेने का साधन बना लिया जाता है तो बड़ा अनर्थ हो जाता है । आज सस्ती रचनाएँ लोकप्रिय बन रही हो, पाठकों की अभिरुचि का स्तर गिरता जा रहा हो और वे सच्ची कलात्मक अनुभूति से वंचित हो रहे हो तो उसे प्रकाशन - व्यापार के द्वारा प्रचार - कला का दुरुपयोग ही कहना चाहिए ।

४. कर्ता और ग्राहक के सम्बन्ध में परिवर्तन: —

प्राचीनकाल में साहित्य के श्रव्य या दृश्य होने के कारण कर्ता और ग्राहक के बीच में प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध होता था, किन्तु आज मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण उन दोनों में वैसा प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध नहीं रह गया है । मुद्रित रूप में साहित्य - रचना के ग्राहक - अभिरुचि के साथ जोड़नेवाला सूत्र टूट गया है । फलतः इस बात का विस्मरण - सा हो रहा है कि साहित्य ग्राहक - समाज के लिए है और उनके द्वारा अनुमोदन प्राप्त करने के लिये उसका सामाजिक होना अनिवार्य है । कर्ता और ग्राहक के इस सम्बन्ध - विच्छेद में साहित्य के प्रेरणा और अभिव्यक्ति सम्बन्धी नये आदर्श सामने आ रहे हैं और नये युग के कलाकार ग्राहक दृष्टि को भुलाकर प्रेषणीयता और साधारणीकरण के नये प्रश्नों में उलझ रहे हैं ।

प्राचीन आचार्यों की दृष्टि में काव्य - नाटकों की कल्पना मुद्रित पुस्तक के रूप में न थी । भरतमुनि प्रेक्षकों का अनुरंजन कर सकने में ही रूपक की सिद्धि मानते हैं । प्राचीनकाल में काव्य - साहित्य भी श्रव्यरूप में ही समाज में पहुँचता था । जातीय साहित्य व्यापक समाज में प्रचार पाता था तो उच्च कलात्मक साहित्य की विद्वानों की गोष्ठियों में परीक्षा होती थी । साहित्य के दरबारी हो जाने पर भी श्रोताओं का यह अनुमोदन आवश्यक समझा जाता था । इस प्रकार के अनुमोदन से ही कवि अपनी रचना को चरितार्थ मानता था । आज जब श्रोता पाठक बन गया है, साहित्य - रचना के साथ ग्राहक का ऐसा प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध नहीं रह गया है । मुद्रण कला के आविष्कार के पहले साहित्य के श्रव्यरूप में ग्राहक - समाज की भावना, साहित्य - सर्जना का अभिन्न अंग थी । आज मुद्रणकला ने लेखक को ग्राहक से दूर किया है और दोनों के बीच में व्यापार - कला के अनेक व्यवधान आ गये हैं । प्राचीनकाल में श्रोता कवि से उसकी रचना सुनता था और उसकी प्रतिक्रियाओं से साहित्य - रचना में परिवर्तन भी हो जाता था । आज वह समय नहीं रहा है कि साहित्य का ग्राहक श्रोता रचना को सुने और अपना मन्तव्य प्रकट करे । उस की अभिरुचि और प्रतिक्रिया से लेखक

के प्रभावित होने की सभावना ही नहीं रह गयी है । घर के किसी कोने में बैठकर के लिए लिखने वाले आज के लेखक में अपनेपन की भावना ही प्रबल रहती है । आर्थिक विवशिता के कारण बहुत कर के वह प्रकाशन की सभावना और अधिक बिक्री से आर्थिक लाभ की ही बात सोचता है । पहले की तरह सभा - समावेशों में अपनी रचना न सुनानेवाला लेखक अपने को पाठक - समाज के प्रति उतना उत्तरदायी नहीं समझता तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं है ।

प्राचीन भारत में साहित्य - रचना और ग्राहक - समाज के प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध की नाट्य-शास्त्र, कामसूत्र आदि ग्रन्थों में विस्तृत चर्चा हुई है । उस समय कला को दैनिक जीवन का अभिन्न अंग समझा जाता था । घटा और सरस्वती गोष्ठियों में ही नहीं, पर्व - व्याहारों पर भी काव्य - पाठ होता था । कथा - वाचन, ऋतु - गीत आदि का सामान्य समाज में विशेष प्रचार था । नाट्यशास्त्र में रूपक का पूरा नाटकीय विधान समाजिक रसानुभूति की दृष्टि से ही किया गया है । श्रव्य - काव्य के विवेचन में आचार्यों ने साहित्य का व्यापक समाज के साथ सम्बन्ध को भुला दिया और उसे सीमित सहृदयों, रसिकों या भावकों की ही वस्तु बना दिया था । इस तरह श्रव्य - साहित्य सीमित वर्गों का हो जाने पर भी यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि साहित्य की रचना में ग्राहकभावना समाविष्ट नहीं थी । व्यापक हो या सीमित, साहित्य - रचना में दर्शक और श्रोता की ग्राहकता और अभिरुचि का ध्यान अवश्य रखा जाता था । लेकिन आज साहित्य के प्रकाशन में कर्ता के साथ ग्राहक का सम्बन्ध बिलकुल परोक्ष हो गया है ।

मुद्रण - कला के कारण लेखक की साहित्यिक स्थिति और ग्राहक - समाज के प्रति उस के दृष्टिकोण में भी परिवर्तन हो गया है । वह पहले की तरह राजा - महाराजाओं का आश्रित नहीं रहा । व्यापक पाठक - समाज को पाकर वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से मुक्त हो गया है । इस प्रकार स्वतंत्र हो जाने के कारण वह अपनी अभिरुचि की अभिव्यक्ति में हुआ है । यही कारण है कि आज उच्चवर्गीय और शासकीय अभिरुचि पहले की तरह साहित्य की प्रवृत्ति को निर्धारित नहीं कर रही है । लेखक की स्थिति में इस परिवर्तन के कारण ग्राहक - समाज के प्रति उस का दृष्टिकोण भी बहुत कुछ बदल गया है । उस में ग्राहक - भावना की उपेक्षा करनेवाले एक प्रकार के कलावादी दृष्टिकोण का विकास हो गया है । वह पहले की तरह न श्रोता के अनुमोदन के लिए विशेष चिन्तित है और न उस के मिलने पर विक्षुब्ध । व्यापक पाठक - समाज को पाकर आर्थिक दृष्टि से स्वतंत्र आधुनिक लेखक में अधिक आत्मविश्वास की भावना विकसित हो गयी है और वह है कि पाठक उस के ग्राहक मात्र है, रचनात्मक प्रक्रिया में सहयोगी नहीं । वह अपने को सभी दृष्टियों से स्वतंत्र है ।

मुद्रण कला के विकास काल में लेखक की स्थिति इतनी सतोषजनक नहीं थी । वह कुछ समय तक प्रकाशक की दया पर निर्भर रहा और उस की सूचना के लिखता था । अपनी रुचि के अनुसार करते हुए वह एक प्रकार से ग्राहक - अभिरुचि का भी निर्णायक हो गया । धीरे धीरे मुद्रण कला की उन्नति और उस के प्रचार के फलस्वरूप लेखक और में स्वस्थ सम्बन्ध स्थापित हो गये हैं । आज का प्रवृत्ति और ग्राहक अभिरुचि का निर्णायक नहीं बनता । लेखक को अपने साहित्यिक अचि-कार प्राप्त हो गये हैं ।

५. साहित्य की प्रकृति, प्रवृत्ति एवं अभिरुचि का नया रूपान्तर: —

श्रव्यरूप में संगीत और साहित्य की प्रकृति भावात्मक थी । श्रोताओं को एक अभीष्ट भावात्मक अनुभूति देना उन का लक्ष्य था । मुद्रित रूप में साहित्य की वह भावात्मकता संभव नहीं है । सुनाने की वृष्टि से लेखक जो कल्पना करता है वह पठन के लिये लिखनेवाले लेखक की कल्पना से भिन्न होती है । दूसरे रूप में लेखक की भावात्मकता सूखकर साहित्य का विचारात्मक हो जाता अनिवार्य है । प्रयत्न करके भी लेखक अपने भावावेश को उतना सक्रिय और सजीव नहीं बना पाता । क्योंकि उस के मन में ग्राहक - भावना श्रोता के रूप में नहीं, पाठक के रूप में रहती है । आज के साहित्य में भावपक्ष से विचार पक्ष प्रबल ही नहीं हो गया है, पहले के निरूपण ने भी भावात्मक चिन्तन और विश्लेषण का रूप लिया है । उसमें भावात्मक अनुभूति की अभिव्यक्ति न होकर उस की प्रकृति, प्रवृत्ति एवं प्रसार को पहचानने और तत्सम्बन्धी विशेषताओं को मूर्तरूप देने का प्रयत्न हो रहा है । प्राचीन साहित्य में भावों का यह मनोवैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण एवं प्रसार नहीं दिखाई देता । आधुनिक लेखक भावों को नहीं, भाव - सम्बन्धी मानसिक धारणाओं को व्यक्त कर रहा है । इसीलिये आधुनिक कविता भी, भावात्मक समझी जानेवाली छायावादी कविता भी, भावात्मक तरलता से रहित, बौद्धिक - सी लगती है ।

नये युग की नई परिस्थितियों के अनुरूप आधुनिक साहित्य की प्रवृत्ति जो सामाजिक और यथार्थोन्मुख हो गयी है उसके मूल में मुद्रण कला का भी प्रत्यक्ष - अप्रत्यक्ष योगदान अवश्य देखा जा सकता है । उसके विकास से प्राप्त व्यापक पाठक - समाज को अपने साथ कर लेने में साहित्य अधिकाधिक सामाजिक होता जा रहा है । आज कर्ता और ग्राहक के बीच में प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध न रह जाने से दोनों के भावयोग के लिए, पाठकों की मान्यता के सम्बन्ध में वृद्ध विश्वास के साथ लेखक के साहित्य की रचना में आगे बढ़ने के लिये एक मात्र उपाय यही रह गया है कि वह अपनी कल्पना को व्यापक सामाजिक भावना के अनुरूप कर ले । पाठकों से दूर होने पर पहले पहल उसकी कल्पना कुछ वैयक्तिक और ऐकान्तिक अवश्य हो गयी है, लेकिन साहित्य के क्षेत्र में व्यक्तिवादी प्रवृत्तियों के पतन से लेखक यह सोचने के लिए विवश हो गया है कि मुद्रण कला से बदली हुई परिस्थितियों में उसका क्या कर्तव्य है । आजकल समीक्षा के क्षेत्र में साहित्य और समाज के सम्बन्ध की जो व्यापक चर्चाएँ हो रही हैं उनमें इस बात पर विशेष जोर दिया जा रहा है कि साहित्य की सामाजिकता ही भावयोग की कठिनाई को हल कर सकती है । साहित्य - समर्पण जैसी मामूली बात में भी हम देखते हैं कि लेखक समाज और सामाजिक भावना के प्रति कितनी सचाई बरत रहे हैं । मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण वे दिन समाप्त हो गये हैं कि लेखक राजाश्रित होकर आर्थिक लाभ के लिये अपनी रचना आश्रयदाता को समर्पित करे । वह अधिक सचाई के साथ अपनी रचना श्रद्धेय पात्र व्यक्तियों को समर्पित कर रहा है ।

आज मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण साहित्य के पाठकों की जो विशेष वृद्धि हुई है उनमें अधिकांश समाज के साधारण वर्गों से हैं । संपन्न और उच्च शिक्षित वर्गों से भिन्न इन वर्गों के पाठकों की अभिरुचि जीवन की यथार्थता की ओर होने के कारण आज का साहित्य भी यथार्थोन्मुख होता जा रहा है । लेखक यथार्थ सामाजिक जीवन के उत्थान - पतन से वस्तु

और पात्रों को लेकर व्यापक समाज को अपील करने का प्रयत्न कर रहा है। प्राचीन - साहित्य उच्च वर्गीय सांस्कृतिक और अभिरुचि से विशेष प्रभावित था। आज जब साहित्य के पाठक दूसरे वर्गों के हो गये हैं, यह बहुत ही स्वाभाविक है कि प्राचीन साहित्य की उस परम्परा के विरुद्ध स्वच्छन्दवादी आन्दोलन हो। इस दृष्टि से स्वच्छन्दवाद को यथार्थवाद का प्रथम चरण भी कह सकते हैं।

मुद्रणकला का, साहित्य की प्रकृति और प्रवृत्ति से कहीं अधिक प्रत्यक्ष और गहरा प्रभाव उसकी कलात्मक अभिव्यक्ति पर पड़ा है। पूरे समाज को श्रोता प्राचीनतम क्लासिकल साहित्य की रूप - कल्पना सरल, स्पष्ट और सामाजिक थी। लेखक समाज की भाषा में उसकी कलात्मक भावना के अनुरूप प्रेषणीय रूप में आत्माभिव्यक्ति का प्रयत्न करता था। साहित्य के दरबारी हो जाने के बाद उसका ग्राहक - वर्ग सीमित हो गया और उसकी कलात्मक भावना और अभिरुचि के अनुरूप साहित्य की अभिव्यंजना दुर्बोध और कृत्रिम हो गयी। आधुनिक युग में आकर मुद्रण कला के विकास के साथ अनुभूति का माध्यम बदल जाने और ग्राहक - समाज के विस्तार के कारण अभिव्यंजना की परम्परा में एक नया और महत्वपूर्ण मोड़ आ गया है।

प्राचीनकाल में जब साहित्य श्रव्य था, लेखक अपने भावों को मूर्तरूप देने में शब्दों की ध्वनि, नाद, बोद्धव्यता आदि पर विशेष ध्यान रखता था। सुनने में कान ही नहीं, मन भी सक्रिय रहकर भावों को प्रत्यक्ष कर लेने का प्रयत्न अवश्य करता है। लेकिन मन तक भावों के प्रेषण में कान माध्यम होता है और उसके सहयोग में ही मन में सजीव चित्र उपस्थित हो पाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में लेखक की भाषा - शैली ऐसी होनी चाहिये जो कानों को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट कर ले और उन्हें अपने काम में अधिक तत्पर बनादे। इतना ही नहीं वह ऐसी भी होनी चाहिए जो सुनते ही बोधगम्य हो और मन में भाव का चित्र जाग्रत कर सके। पहले काम के लिये लेखक शब्दों और उनके विन्यास के नाद - सौन्दर्य पर विशेष ध्यान देता था। दूसरे काम के लिये शब्द - चयन में विशेष सावधान रहता था। वह उन्हीं शब्दों को चुनता था जो समाजिक व्यवहार में प्रचलित हो कर श्रोताओं के लिए बोधगम्य होते थे और उसी समाजिक व्यवहार के बलपर भाव - साहचर्य के द्वारा श्रोता के मन में भावों को उद्बुद्ध कर सकते थे। शब्द चयन के सम्बन्ध में दूसरी सावधानी उन शब्दों के ग्रहण के सम्बन्ध में थी जो श्रवणेन्द्रिय के माध्यम से भावों का सजीव चित्र उपस्थित कर सकते थे। प्रत्येक भाषा में ऐसे अनेक शब्द होते हैं जो केवल साकेतिक अर्थ - बोध करानेवाले न होकर सुनते ही भावों का चित्र उपस्थित कर सकते हैं और इसीलिये श्रव्य - साहित्य में अधिक प्रभावोत्पादक होते हैं। शब्द - रचना करनेवाला साहित्यकार संगीतकर की तरह शब्दों की विशेष ध्यान रखता है। उसकी कलात्मक साधना में शब्दों का चयन और उनका क्रम - विन्यास भावोद्भूत उत्पन्न करनेवाले रूप में होता है।

आज श्रव्य - साहित्य पाठ्य - साहित्य हो जाने के कारण अभिव्यक्ति की जटिलता बहुत बढ़ गयी है। व्यापक पाठक - समाज नये साहित्य की, विशेषकर नयी कविता की दुर्बोधता की शिकायत कर रहा है। प्राचीनकाल में साहित्य के दरबारी हो जाने पर भी साहित्य में प्रसादगुण का अभाव सा हो गया था। लेकिन उस की क्लिष्टता, पाण्डित्य -

प्रदर्शन के लिये शब्दों का खिलवाड़ और चमत्कार उत्पन्न करने के लिये दूरारुढ़ कल्पना के कारण थी। आज के साहित्य की कठिनाई भाव - विचारों की सूक्ष्मता और गहनता को लेकर है। मुद्रण कला के विकास में लेखक ग्राहक - भावना से निरपेक्ष होकर अपनी अनुभूति के सूक्ष्म स्तरों को पहचानने और उन्हें यथातथ एवं चतुस्त रूप में व्यक्त करने की साधना में लगा है। अपनी अनुभूति की इन छायाओं को संक्रामक रूप में अंकित करने की ओर उसका ध्यान नहीं है जिससे उसकी रचना पाठक को दुर्बोध लगती है।

पाठ्यरूप में अभिव्यक्ति की जटिलता की अधिक गुंजाइश भी रहती है। पढ़ने में पाठक का मन अधिक जागरूक रहता है। वह अभिव्यक्ति की जटिलता को अधिक सरलता से हृदयगम कर लेता है। सुनने में अभिव्यक्ति की जटिलता रसानुभूति में बाधा बनती है क्योंकि जब सुनाया जा रहा है, तब रुककर और विचार करने का अवकाश नहीं रहता। मुद्रित रूप में पाठक इस प्रकार की कठिनाई का अनुभव ही नहीं करते। इसीलिये आधुनिक साहित्यकार मानव - मन के अमूर्त भावों की सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म अभिव्यक्ति का साहस कर रहे हैं। श्रव्य - साहित्य की रचना करनेवाले कलाकार मानव - मन की गहरी उलझनों में जाने का इस तरह साहस नहीं कर सके। इतना ही नहीं, पढ़ने में मन विचारोत्तेजन चाहता है, सोचने और समझने के लिये आहार चाहता है। गहरे भाव - विचारों की सूक्ष्म अभिव्यक्ति ही उसे पूरा सन्तोष दे पाती है। भावानुभूति की तरलता को महत्व देनेवाली कला उसे हल्की लगती है। साहित्य की नयी मान्यताओं के कारण आधुनिक काल में साहित्यिक अभिव्यक्ति बिलकुल बदल गयी है।

श्रव्य रूप में भाषा अधिक सजीव होती है। इससे रसानुभूति में विशेष सहायता मिलती है। रसानुभूति के लिए शब्दाश्रित साहित्य में, विशेषकर शब्दों की मूर्तता पर निर्भर कविता में मुद्रित सक्तों का मानसिक ग्रहण रस को नहीं कर पाता। इसीलिये आजकल कविता को सस्वर पढ़ने पर जोर दिया जा रहा है। उसमें भी गीति - काव्य सस्वर पढ़ने या सुनने के लिये ही होता है। गीतिकार श्रव्य - रूप में रस - ग्रहण की दृष्टि से ही शब्दों को चुनकर उन्हें कलात्मक रूप में सजाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में उसका मौन - पठन पाठक को अभीष्ट रसानुभूति नहीं दे पाता। पाठ्य साहित्य की रूप - कल्पना और शब्द - साधना इससे कुछ भिन्न होती है। उस में रूप - कल्पना की और शब्द - बन्ध की घनिष्टता अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण होती है। उसी रूप में वह सुन्दर और प्रभावोत्पादक होता है। पाठ्य - रूप में श्रव्य - रूप की सजीवता न होने के कारण आज के कलाकार अति - सौन्दर्य से उसकी क्षति पूर्ति का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। शब्दों के चयन और विन्यास में वह मानसिक उत्तेजन करनेवाले रूपों पर ध्यान दे रहा है।

मुद्रण कला के विकास के कारण जहाँ साहित्यिक अभिव्यक्ति सूक्ष्म और जटिल हो गयी है वहाँ उसे नवागत व्यापक ग्राहक - समाज की कलात्मक भावना के अनुरूप प्रेषणीय और सामाजिक बनाने के प्रयत्न भी हो रहे हैं। कलावादी आन्दोलन की असफलता के बाद यह प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती जा रही है। जब साहित्य का पाठक - समाज विस्तृत हो गया है, उसकी उपेक्षा करके सीमित सहृदयों के लिए ही साहित्य की रचना करना सम्भव नहीं है। कोई भी लेखक अपने पाठकों को सीमित कर लेना नहीं चाहता। वह अपनी रचना का अधिक से

अधिक सामाजिक अनुमोदन चाहता है । कला को आत्माभिव्यक्ति माननेवाले कलावादी की भी आखिर यही इच्छा होती है कि अपनी रचना का व्यापक से व्यापक प्रचार हो । मुद्रण कला के प्रभाव से विकसित विस्तृत पाठक समुदाय ने वस्तु और भाव के साथ रूप - कल्पना को भी सामाजिक होने के लिए बाध्य किया है । पाठ्य-रूप में लेखक की भावना अधिक सूक्ष्म और अभिव्यक्ति अधिक सुगठित एवं गहन हो सकती है, लेकिन जब तक साहित्य विस्तृत पाठक - समाज के लिये सामाजिक रूप में प्रेषणीय नहीं होगा तब तक लेखक उसके पाठ्य - रूप से पूरा लाभ उठ न सकेगा ।

६. साहित्यिक धारणा, अभिरुचि और अनुभूति पर प्रभाव —

प्राचीन काल में साहित्य की जो धारणा थी और उसके जो सिद्धान्त बने हैं, वे श्रव्य - रूप में उसकी कल्पना करते हुए बने हैं । उस रूप में वह एक विशेष अनुभूति उत्पन्न करने वाला था । पाठ्य - रूप में हम उसे अध्ययन, मनन और चिन्तन की वस्तु समझते हैं । पहले लोग साहित्य की भावात्मक तरलता पर मुग्ध होते थे । आज हम उसकी गंभीरता की प्रशंसा करते हैं । उसके उद्देश्य और जीवन - दर्शन की लम्बी - चौड़ी व्याख्याएँ करते हुए हम देखना चाहते हैं कि मानव - जीवन में लेखक की कितनी गहरी पैठ है । इसीलिये आज हम 'रस' को साहित्य की आत्मा नहीं मानते, 'चेतना' को उसका जीवित समझते हैं । आज के हमारे साहित्य में 'रस' ढँढने पर भी नहीं मिलता, मानव - चेतना की यथार्थता ही दिखाई देती है । प्राचीन साहित्य में भी हम इसी मानवीय चेतना को देखने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं । इसीलिए उसके सम्बन्ध में हमारा मूल्यांकन, प्राचीनो के मूल्यांकन से बहुत कुछ भिन्न भी हो गया है । यदि हम प्राचीन श्रव्य रूप में आज के पाठ्य साहित्य को देखने का प्रयत्न करते हैं तो आज का अधिकांश साहित्य साहित्य नहीं रह जाता । मद्रित रूप से

होकर हम इस बात को भूल में गये हैं कि साहित्य अपने मूल श्रव्यरूप में सामाजिक अनुभूति की वस्तु था । यदि साहित्य समाज को सुनाने की वस्तु होता तो वर्तमान रूप में कामायनी की रचना कभी सम्भव ही नहीं होती । क्योंकि कल्पना और अभिव्यक्ति की यह जटिलता में रसानुभूति उत्पन्न नहीं कर पाती । कवि - सम्मेलनों में सुनाई जानेवाली कविताओं से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि सुनने की रचनाएँ दूसरी होती हैं और पढ़ने की दूसरी । पाठ्य - रचना की जटिल - कल्पना और गहन अभिव्यक्ति कवि - सम्मेलनों में शायद ही प्रशंसा प्राप्त करती है । साहित्य की धारणा के साथ साहित्य के सिद्धान्त और समीक्षा की मान्यताएँ भी बदल गयी हैं । आज साहित्य में कल्पना, सामाजिक यथार्थता और बौद्धिकता को महत्व देते हुए उसकी नयी व्याख्याएँ हो रही हैं । येही तत्त्व उस की श्रेष्ठता के परिचायक हो गये हैं और समीक्षा में इन्हीं की अधिक चर्चा हो रही है । पहले साहित्य का श्रोता रस तन्मय होकर उसका अभिशसन करता था । आज का पाठक उसे पढ़कर उस की परीक्षा या समीक्षा में लग जाता है । आज साहित्य हमारे लिये अनुभूति से कहीं अधिक आलोचना का विषय हो गया है ।

मुद्रण कला के कारण ग्राहक - अभिरुचि में भी परिवर्तन हो गया है । श्रोता के पाठक बनने में अनुभूति का माध्यम बदल जाने का यह परिणाम है । श्रोता के रूप में ग्राहक-मन भावों का सधुर शब्द रूप चाहता है, ध्वनि की मूर्तता में सौन्दर्य देखता है और वैसे ध्वनि-

चित्र से ही तृप्त होता है। पाठक के रूप में मुद्रित संकेतो का मानसिक ग्रहण करते हुए वह ध्वनि की अपेक्षा अर्थपुष्टि पर ज्यादा ध्यान देता है। शब्दों की सजीवता से अर्थ की गंभीरता उसे अधिक आकृष्ट करती है। कवि का कथ्य मन को अपील करनेवाला हो, तभी वह तृप्त होता है। अर्थ की विशेषता में ही उसे साहित्य के सौन्दर्य - दर्शन होते हैं। इसीलिये आज का पाठक पहले की तरह साहित्य द्वारा हार्दिक अनुभूति नहीं, मानसिक जागृति चाहता है। मुद्रण कला के कारण जिस तरह साहित्य की प्रवृत्ति भावात्मक से सामाजिक और यथार्थान्मुख हो गयी है उसी तरह ग्राहक - अभिरुचि भी। दृश्य और श्रव्य अन्य कलाओं में जहाँ ग्रहण का माध्यम साहित्य की तरह बदला नहीं है, वहाँ कला की प्रकृति, प्रवृत्ति, अभिव्यक्ति और अनुभूति में इस प्रकार आमूल परिवर्तन नहीं हो गया है। मुद्रण - कला के कारण ग्राहक अभिरुचि के स्तर और प्रेषणीयता की जो समस्याएँ उत्पन्न हुई हैं उनका पहले उल्लेख हो चुका है। वास्तव में उसने साहित्यिक प्रवृत्ति और ग्राहक - अभिरुचि के शीघ्रातिशीघ्र परिवर्तित हो जाने की ऐसी संभावनाये दी हैं कि दोनों क्षेत्रों में फैशन की हवा बहुत जल्दी बदलती जा रही है।

रस - ग्रहण का माध्यम बदल जाने से साहित्यिक दृष्टिकोण और अभिरुचि से कहीं अधिक अनुभूति में अंतर हो गया है। श्रव्यरूप में साहित्य की अनुभूति - ध्वनियों और अर्थ के बिम्बों, दोनों की - अधिक ऐन्द्रिय थी। मानसिक पठन का इन्द्रियों पर प्रभाव नहीं पड़ता। इन्द्रियों के माध्यम से रस - ग्रहण न करने के कारण मौन पठन में बिम्बानुभूति भी ऐन्द्रिय होने की संभावना बहुत कम हो जाती है। मन और इन्द्रियों के सम्मिलित रस - ग्रहण में अनुभूति जितनी सजीव और पुष्ट होती है, केवल मानसिक ग्रहण में उतनी नहीं। मन और इन्द्रियों की सामंजस्यपूर्ण रस - संवेदना में ग्राहक को जो तृप्ति होती है वह शुद्ध मानसिक या शुद्ध ऐन्द्रिय अनुभूति में नहीं मिलती। दृश्यरूप में साहित्य की अनुभूति सब से अधिक सजीव होती है। अभिनय में भावों की मूर्तता के कारण प्रेक्षक की अनुभूति प्रत्यक्षानुभूति के समान सजीव होती है। मूर्तता के लिए ग्राहक की कल्पना पर निर्भर दृश्येतर साहित्य में अनुभूति को यह सजीवता संभव नहीं है। यहाँ भी पाठ्य साहित्य से श्रव्य साहित्य की अनुभूति अधिक प्रत्यक्ष और सजीव होती है। पाठ्य रूप में अनुभूति बिल्कुल परोक्ष हो जाने के कारण उसमें प्रत्यक्षानुभूति की तीव्रता और तन्मयता नहीं हो सकती। मानसिक प्रत्यक्षीकरण और श्रवण, ऐन्द्रिय प्रत्यक्षीकरण और श्रवण के समान सजीव नहीं होते। रस - ग्रहण में आँख के समान न होने पर भी कान कम संवेदनशील नहीं है। पाठ्य रूप में इन्द्रियों की सक्रियता का अभाव, रस - संवेदना को मद बना देता है।

प्राचीनकाल में साहित्य का श्रव्य रूप ग्राहकों में अनुरूप भावावेश उत्पन्न कर देता था। मुद्रित रूप ने उसकी सम्भावना को समाप्त कर दिया है। आज साहित्य की रसानुभूति की प्रक्रिया और उसका अर्थ ही बदल गया है। आज रस - ग्रहण के लिए मुद्रित संकेतो का ग्रहण करने में ग्राहक - मन अनुभूति में तन्मय उतना नहीं होता जितना आलोचनात्मक दृष्टि से साहित्य को समझने और परखने का प्रयत्न करता है। इसी चेतन अनुशीलन को हम रसानुभूति समझ रहे हैं। पढ़ने में शब्दों का केवल संकेतिक अर्थ - बोध ही होता है, उनके साथ सम्बद्ध भावनाओं की अनुभूति नहीं होती। सस्वर पढ़ने या सुनने में कण्ठस्वर और हाव - भावों की अभिव्यक्ति के कारण काव्य सजीव हो जाता है। पाठ्य रूप में यह

सजीवता नष्ट हो जाने के कारण आज कल साहित्य की रसानुभूति के लिये पाठक की कल्पना के सहयोग की अधिक आवश्यकता पड़ रही है। श्रव्य रूप में रसानुभूति के लिये प्राचीन आचार्य श्रोता की सहृदयता पर जोर देते थे तो पाठ्य रूप में रस-सवेदना के लिए आधुनिक समीक्षक पाठक की कल्पना-शक्ति को अधिक महत्त्व दे रहे हैं। साहित्य का पाठक जब तक अन्तःश्रवण और दर्शन की शक्तियों का विकास नहीं कर लेता, मौन सकेत-ग्रहण से रचना की सजीवता का अनुभव नहीं कर पाता।

जहाँ पाठ्य रूप के कारण साहित्यिक रसानुभूति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कठिनाइयाँ उत्पन्न हुई हैं और अनुभूति की सजीवता कुछ कम हो गयी है वहाँ रसानुभूति प्राप्त करने की अनेक सुविधायें भी प्राप्त हो गयी हैं। मुद्रित रूप में मूल ग्रन्थ सुरक्षित हो जाने से पाठ-संस्करण की आवश्यकता दूर हो गयी है और रचना का वास्तविक रूप समझने के लिये उच्च शिक्षा से प्राप्त विद्वत्ता आवश्यक नहीं रह गयी है। इस सुविधा के कारण रचना के स्वरूप को समझते हुए उसका उचित रसास्वादन व्यापक समाज के लिए सुगम हो गया है। श्रव्य रूप में एक सीमित समुदाय ही साहित्य का श्रोता हो सकता था जब कि असंख्य मुद्रित प्रतियों ने श्रोताओं की सीमाओं को तोड़कर सब के लिये रचना की अनुभूति का द्वार खोल दिया है। मुद्रित रूप में रचना को दुहराने की सुविधा के कारण अर्थ-बोध की कठिनाई ही दूर नहीं हुई है बल्कि गहरी अनुभूति और स्थायी प्रभाव की सम्भावनाएँ भी बढ़ गयी हैं। पाठ्य रूप में साहित्य की उचित रसानुभूति प्राप्त करने के अवकाश भी प्राप्त हो गये हैं। पाठक रचना के पिछले पन्ने पलटकर लेखक की भाव धारा के विकास सूत्रों को समझते हुए अपनी अनुभूति के औचित्य की परीक्षा कर ले सकता है। आगे के पन्ने पलट कर लेखक के लक्ष्य को समझते हुए रचना के अनुचित प्रभाव से मुक्त रहने के लिए उचित दृष्टिकोण अपना सकता है। बीच में रुककर लेखक की असंगतियों और अपनी अनुभूति की सीमाओं को समझ सकता है। इस तरह पाठ्य रूप में रचना की रसानुभूति निष्क्रिय प्रभाव-ग्रहण न रहकर सचेत रस-सवेदना हो जाती है। पाठक आत्मविश्वास के साथ रचना का वस्तुन्मुख अनुसन्धान और अपनी अनुभूति का पर्यालोचन करते हुए सजीव नहीं तो सचेत रस-ग्रहण कर पाता है।

मुद्रण कला के कारण प्राचीन साहित्य की धारणा, भावना और अनुभूति में भी थोड़ा बहुत अन्तर आ गया है। आज के पाठक प्राचीन काव्यों को पाठ्य रूप में देखते हुए यह भूल-से गये हैं कि वे श्रव्य रूप में प्रस्तुत हुए हैं। श्रव्य-भावाभिव्यक्ति पाठ्य से कुछ भिन्न होने के कारण सस्वर पढ़कर ही उसका पूर्ण रसावादन हो सकता है। पाठ्य रूप में आधुनिक पाठक और समीक्षक प्राचीन साहित्य को उसकी वस्तुस्थिति से कुछ भिन्न रूप में देख रहे हो, समझ रहे हों और पाठ्य साहित्य के समान उसे लेखक की मानसिक चेतना की अभिव्यक्ति मानकर भावानुभूति से भिन्न तत्त्वों को ढूँढ़ रहे हो तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं है। पाठक की कल्पना में उसका प्रत्यक्षीकरण भी श्रव्य रूप में उसकी भावना से कुछ अशो में भिन्न अवश्य होती है। क्योंकि पहले में शब्दों के अर्थों की ही भावना होती है, उनके द्वारा व्यक्त अनुभूति की छायाओं की नहीं। पाठक की धारणा और भावना में इस अन्तर के कारण उसकी अनुभूति में भी अंतर पड़ जाता है। श्रव्य-रचना की पाठ्य अनुभूति उसकी श्रव्य अनुभूति से भिन्न हो ही जाती है। वैसे कालक्रम में शब्दों से सम्बद्ध भावात्मक अनुभूतियों में मात्रा का अंतर हो जाने के कारण साहित्य की अनुभूति थोड़ी बहुत बदल जाती

हो है, यदि अनुभूति का माध्यम भी बदल गया है और उस सम्बन्ध में ग्राहक सावधान नहीं है तो उसकी सभावना और भी बढ़ जाती है ।

साहित्य पर मुद्रण कला के व्यापक प्रभाव को स्पष्ट करते हुए आचार्य हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी लिखते हैं कि “छापे की मशीन ने साहित्य को जनसाधारण तक सहज ही पहुँचाने के माधन सुलभ कर दिये हैं, कविता अब कान से सुनने की चीज न रहकर आँख से पढ़ने की चीज बन गयी है । काव्यगत झंकार से पाठक अब भुलावे में नहीं आता ; वह आँख से पढ़ने के बाद कविता में सार खोजता है । वह आवेगकम्पित कम होता है, बुद्धि चलिता अधिक । राजशेखर ने जिस ‘अभिप्रायवान् पाठधर्म’ — यानी ‘काकु’ को इतना बहुमान दिया था, वह अब काव्य की बड़ी शक्ति एक दम नहीं है । ग्राहक इन्द्रिय के परिवर्तन के साथ ही आस्वाद्य वस्तु में भी परिवर्तन हुआ है ।”¹ “इस मशीन ने जो पाठक को भावावेश पर से धकेलकर बुद्धिप्रवाह में फेंक दिया है, वह मामूली बात नहीं है ।”² मुद्रण कला के कारण साहित्य सम्बन्धी बाह्य परिस्थितियों में ही नहीं, उसकी प्रवृत्ति, अभिव्यक्ति और अनुभूति में भी कुछ न कुछ परिवर्तन अवश्य हो गया है । हम साहित्य के मुद्रित रूप से इतने अभ्यस्त हो गये हैं कि न उस के पहले की स्थिति पर हमारा ध्यान जाता है और न उसके कारण साहित्य के क्षेत्र में आये हुए परिवर्तनों पर ।³

1 साहित्य का मर्म, प्रथमावृत्ति पृ० ५ ।

2 वही, पृ० १० ।

3 इस लेख की रचना में ‘फाइव हनड्रेड इयर्स आफ प्रिन्टिंग’ से जो प्रेरणा और सहायता मिली है उस के लिये उस पुस्तक के लेखक यस्० हेब० स्टेइन बर्ग का हृदय से आभारी हूँ ।

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